

# ANNALES

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*Annali di Studi istriani e mediterranee*  
*Annals for Istrian and Mediterranean Studies*  
*Series Historia et Sociologia, 28, 2018, 4*







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## PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH: VISUALIZING TERRACED LANDSCAPES FROM ASIA, EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA

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### ABSTRACT

*The application of Participatory Action Research (PAR) in Peru, PR China, Philippines, Thailand, Italy and Spain illustrates the local perceptions on terraced landscapes and its potential to transformative action. This methodology creates a space to express and mobilise local knowledge related to nature in rural contexts as well as in other formats like the International Conferences on Terraced Landscapes since 2010. The article shows how different actors, when invited to visualize their ideas and practices about terraces, demonstrate original visions of the future responding to modern challenges like nurturing biodiversity, dealing with climate crisis and sustaining their identities. To conclude we deal with the essential epistemological reflection of facing diverse ways of knowing and power to jointly design local initiatives in the defence of terraced landscapes.*

**Keywords:** Terraced landscapes, participatory research methodology, local perceptions, biocultural diversity

## RICERCA SULL'AZIONE PARTECIPATIVA: VISUALIZZAZIONE DI PAESAGGI TERRAZZATI DI ASIA, EUROPA E AMERICA LATINA

### SINTESI

*La sperimentazione della Participatory Action Research (PAR) in Perù, Repubblica Popolare Cinese, Filippine, Tailandia, Italia e Spagna mostra le diverse percezioni dei paesaggi terrazzati da parte delle comunità locali e il loro potenziale trasformativo. Questa metodologia crea uno spazio per esprimere e mobilitare le conoscenze locali nei contesti rurali e in altri luoghi, come le Conferenze internazionali sui paesaggi terrazzati che hanno avuto luogo dal 2010 ad oggi. Questo articolo mostra come attori diversi, quando sono invitati a visualizzare le loro idee e pratiche sulle terrazze, offrono visioni originali del futuro rispondendo alle sfide moderne come coltivare la biodiversità, affrontare la crisi climatica e sostenere le loro identità. Infine, si propone una riflessione epistemologica essenziale che affronta i diversi modi di conoscere e la possibilità di progettare congiuntamente iniziative locali.*

**Parole chiave:** Paesaggi terrazzati, metodologia di ricerca partecipata, percezioni locali, diversità bioculturale



## INTRODUCTION

The origin of agriculture in the world 10,000 years ago (Sandor, 2006, 507) shaped the diverse human cultural landscapes. Human modifications based on collective knowledge of communities who have transformed forests, jungles, prairies, deserts, oceans, seas, rivers, coasts in a mosaic of ecosystems existing worldwide. Terraced landscapes are emblematic agricultural systems in mountain areas that often coincide with hotspots of biodiversity (Vavilov, 1935) in Asia, Europe, Africa and the Americas as well as with cultural diversity (Maffi, Woodley, 2010), which leads us to frame the understanding of terraced landscapes with the axiom biocultural diversity. Each of the languages spoken in the world (more than 6000) represents a particular way to understand the natural and the social world (Toledo & Barrera-Bassols, 2008). The domestication of plants to produce food in terraces implies the control of soil and water giving raise to the most spectacular cultural landscapes created by human ingenuity in the last 5 to 6 thousand years ago.

As part of the modernisation of agriculture, terraced landscapes in the hands of peasants are losing their biological and cultural importance in the global systems (Norberg-Hodge, 2002). Moreover, pressures from the market, rural exodus, competition of natural resources, water, land, seeds with extractive industries are undermining life quality in the cultural landscapes of mountain peoples. The impact of globalization on the social actors who still remain conducting their terraces affects their relation with nature eroding to a critical point the local knowledge systems, embedded in a spiritual relationship with mother earth. In general, the state of terraced landscapes can be metaphorically equated to the concept of disenchantment of reality (Weber, 1919; Jenkins, 2000). Terraced landscapes worldwide are ignored by government policies as they constitute difficult land use systems mostly in hands of small farmers – peasants (Ažman Momirski, Berčič, 2016).

This article begins with an overview of concepts and processes of Participatory Action Research (PAR) followed by examples of local, indigenous perceptions on terraces resulting from dialogical processes in the application of PAR. We have selected them with the purpose to provide methodological insights on the importance of the relationship between power and knowledge. The reflections express our own observations and direct involvement as organisers, facilitators or trainers in PAR and go along with the sequence of the World Conferences on Terraced Landscapes which took place in Asia, Latin America and Europe since 2010. Finally we reflect on the key aspects of the epistemological requirements and limitations of PAR.

The example from Gran Canaria includes also information about the preparations of the forthcoming

4th World Congress on Terraced Landscapes with the title “Re-enchanting Terraces” to be held on the Canary Islands in March 2019. The concept Re-enchantment follows the spirit of Berman’s (1981) historical proposal to recreate a participatory consciousness to contribute to the social construction of alternatives for a better life in this planet.

## Participatory Action Research

Participatory Action Research (PAR) is an approach that aims to maximise community participation during research by shifting the role of the researcher from that of an external observer who merely extracts and collects data from informants: those who possess the knowledge (the “knowers”) to one who facilitates the generation of knowledge for the empowerment of the local community, an empowerment that enables them to change their own lives (Salas, Tillmann, 2010).

The recovery of collective memory is an essential epistemological value of Participatory Action Research (PAR) by which people gain power different to other scientific research approaches. Social memory implies a powerful discovery of ideas and practices to reconnect with nature and defend terraces for the common good envisioning a future with multifold forms of life fulfilment (Fals-Borda, 1988). The following table contrasts the difference between conventional academic research and PAR:

Action in PAR takes place in a field of power tensions. It starts in the mini-universe of dialogical interactions, and then flows in an ongoing cycle of action – reflection – action. This iterative experience makes possible the personal growth of all the partners into beings with a greater capacity for transformation in wider spheres; from the individual to the family, from the community to the region and so on. It all happens by nurturing the capacities to remember, to imagine and sense possibilities that are desirable, and that are anchored in values such as:

- Authenticity and engagement with the community processes related to those practices that strive towards life fulfilment;
- Anti-dogmatism that makes it possible to discover multiple existing truths without minimizing the differing voices;
- Dialogue, by exchanging different perceptions that bring about a common understanding;
- Acknowledgment of individual, group and community differences, creating space for further conversations;
- Visualization of ideas rooted in people’s artistic capacity, their own cultural representations, the subtleties of oral images, and musical expression;
- Re-evaluating cosmovisions in order to bridge life philosophies, value orientations and spirituality;

**Table 1: Differences of the knowledge perspective.**

Conventional research	Participatory Action Research (PAR)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Based on abstract ideas and hypothesis to approach and understand reality.</li> <li>2. Looks into topics, problems and objective issues neglecting the perception by the human beings.</li> <li>3. Differentiates a hierarchy between the researcher as active subject and the informants as objects of the research.</li> <li>4. The methods rely on questionnaires and quantitative data.</li> <li>5. The truth is shown with data generalising objective proofs and validating scientific hypothesis.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Is based on the local context and the subjective explanations of reality by the people.</li> <li>2. Looks into perceptions, ideas, emotions of humans who are searching for meaning in the transformation of their lives using joint action.</li> <li>3. In the research process each person participates as a knowledge subject expressing ideas in a dialogical way.</li> <li>4. The research methods create dialogue spaces to promote the generation of ideas, knowledge and emotions by each person in a visual way. It visualises the collective intelligence of the people.</li> <li>5. Truth is an intersubjective construction which acquires meaning through emancipatory action and transformation of reality to achieve the vision of a fulfilled future.</li> </ol>

- Reconstruction of history – leads to the recovery of cultural identity and projects the historic dynamic of change and life quality improvement;
- Hermeneutic Interpretation – from the testimony the authors explain the content and jointly the ideas and slogans are constructed;
- Democratic Facilitation of village encounters or groups of villagers.

In PAR, action does not mean the introduction of new practices, products or ideas. On the contrary, action follows reflection that helps recognize the cognitive and practical capacities that unfold our thinking, feelings and acting modalities, and that make us take part in the cultural affirmation of community life. Devolution of knowledge – to define future action of the local community the recovered knowledge of space, time and wisdom is the starting point for reflection about the vision of the future and its necessary action.

### The PAR Cycle of collaborative research

We consider 6 steps of the PAR process with local communities. The origin of the process can be very diverse. It can be a request of a local community to defend their rights and resources, or a local leader or a NGO-member proposing a PAR process, or an outside agency who wants to support a local planning process.

1. The encounter between the facilitating team and the local community for a **free prior informed consent** (FAO, 2016). The team presents its research plan including topic, tools, process, outcome, team members with a drawing to the lo-

cal group including leaders and agrees on the implementation of the research and action process.

2. **Overview of space and time:** a first village map will be sketched to define places and distances for transect walks, identify resource persons – wise elders, and also a historic diagram is elaborated.
3. **Sharing knowledge** During 3 days the teams divide into subgroups of 2 persons each, who work with local resource persons, elders, men and women groups, children deepening research topics with regard to land use, agriculture, food, livelihood, social organisation, development projects, etc. We propose three sets of tools: to understand the categories of space (maps, transect walks and drawing, resource flow), the categories of time (calendar, historic diagram, daily cycle) and the wisdom of the people (biographies, matrix, Venn diagram, tree diagram, free drawing, future vision...).
4. The **Hermeneutic Interpretation** of the visual results of the dialogue sessions. At the end of each session in the village the resource person(s) read the visual representation (drawing) and make notes of the content. The facilitator writes down key phrases, which can be visualised for the exhibition.
5. The team prepares the **Exhibition** of the visual representations according to places, topics, from a panoramic view to the details, highlighting key sentences and findings. The villagers are invited and join the exhibition, guided by members of the team. When participants have gathered, the charts are presented by the authors.





Figure 1, 2: Paddy fields in Yuanyang, Mengzi Yunnan 2010 (Photo: Timmi Tillmann).

6. The exhibition as the devolution of knowledge is the starting point for the **Workshop to plan future action**. The villagers and facilitators identify main issues to be discussed and tackled, then the community members divide into subtopics and discuss and propose actions for the different issues in parallel groups. The ideas are presented and discussed. The actions are planned with responsibilities and deadlines, and can relate to village action, further research plan, advocacy work or teaching at schools for children.

#### CASE STUDIES

##### Pr China

##### 2010 – First Terrace Conference at Red River in Yunnan

The first international Conference on Terraced Landscapes was organised in 2010 in Mengzi, Honghe Prefecture, Yunnan Province, PR China by the Honghe government, a group of Hani researchers and UNESCO with more than 200 participants (Peters & Shi, 2012).

The terraced rice fields of Yuanyang (Figure 1, 2), are located at the Ailao mountain range, the homelands of different ethnic minorities Yi, Hani, Miao, Yao, Zhuang and Dai. They have created the terraced landscape over the last 1000 years and practice a complex system of cooperation at different levels to keep the waters flowing, from the forest tops at 1400 m to the river side at 300 m altitude. In 2013 the inscription in the world heritage list of UNESCO was approved.

The topics discussed in the workshops were: history and culture of terraces, the impact of tourism on them, their organic agricultural production, the management of World Heritage Sites and the policies and regulations that affect them. And it concluded with the Honghe Declaration and with the birth of an independ-

ent movement called the International Terraced Landscapes Alliance (ITLA). This organization brings together, as founding members, all the participants, and aims to bring to life the national – or supranational – sections by working with a wider group of experts, and citizens who, together, can work on documenting and building the future of these wonderful works, witnesses of the greatest civilizations in the world.

During the conference a farmer forum with representatives of Hani and Yi farming villages was facilitated by the organising team. Here are three results of the participatory research process during the forum that are clear statements of the values they perceive in their terrace landscapes.

Two Yi women show their depiction of agro-biodiversity of the Hani paddy fields (Figure 3): rice varieties as well as corn (*Zea mays*), medicinal herbs, taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) and lotus (*Nelumbo nucifera*). Additionally, they catch eels, snails, red fish and breed ducks and geese inside the paddies. Along the ridges grow bananas, lychees and other fruit trees. They also mentioned that due to the scarcity of water for maintaining all paddies inundated some higher areas of the paddies have been converted to forest areas. The higher areas above 1200 meters and above the village sites always have been forests, which functions as a water storage to provide irrigation to the lower areas.

A group of Hani women describe multitasking of women in terraced agriculture: they collect leaves in the forest and together with animal dung they fertilise the paddies applying mulches (Figure 4). Women are also in charge of irrigating the fields and take care of the water flow as fields need to be permanently inundated. Besides completing the harvest, they dry and store the rice for self-consumption and sale. Women are responsible for the selection of local seeds to keep their genetic capital near the water terraces where people, plants, animals and fish feel at home.



**Figure 3: Diversity of crops in the paddy fields (Photo: Timmi Tillmann).**



**Figure 4: Self-presentation of Hani women in the terraced fields (Photo: Timmi Tillmann).**



**Figure 5: Dangers of pesticide for life (Photo: Timmi Tillmann).**



**Figure 6: Farmers diversify the rice terraces with corn, fruit trees, vegetables (Photo: Timmi Tillmann).**

One farmer as beekeeper illustrated the dangers of pesticides, which are applied on the crops (Figure 5). This affects the health of the villagers contrary to their wish to have a healthy life.

#### **Sichuan province 2018: Han peasants reshape their terraced landscapes**

The origin of rice can be traced back to 2 regions in Asia. The first domestication center was in Sichuan near the Yangtse River, China, 6000 BC, while in India the domestication finished 2000 years later (Fuller, 2011).

The rice terraces of the areas near Luzhou (in Hejiang, Xuyong and Gaokan) close to the Yangtse river are mostly inhabited by farmers of the Han majority. Altitude ranges are between 600 and 1000 m altitude and rice is grown on terraces since ancient times.

The former irrigated rice paddies with its clear classical structures have been reshaped to agroforestry gardens. Due to a multiplicity of factors Han Peasants since the last 5 years are producing a smaller area of rice, combined with corn (for alcohol distillery and pig raising), vegetables and fruit trees, creating a vital agroforestry system on terraced landscapes (Figure 6). There are several reasons for the change. Climate change has reduced the amount of water, which limits the permanent paddy field irrigation. Social inequalities push the migration of young male labour force into the cities. In the villages women and old men remain featuring the pattern of the feminisation of agriculture. Market opportunities neglect rice production and favour the introduction of species like Kiwi (*Actinidia deliciosa*) (Figure 7) and the promotion of corn for the distilleries. Local rice varieties are kept for self-consumption in a smaller scale.





**Figure 7:** Kiwi is replacing rice for self-consumption on the terraces (Photo: Timmi Tillmann).



**Figure 8:** Past, present and future of the Bimo specialists in Yi culture in Meigu County, Sichuan (Photo: Timmi Tillmann).

### Meigu County 2002: Reproduction of local identity

Meigu county in Liangshan Prefecture is about 6 hours drive from Xichang, the capital city of Liangshan. Meigu. It is a Yi County belonging to the Nuosu ethnic group. The Nuosu had 2 clans, the Black Yi and the White Yi, who were enslaved by the Black Yi who were the landowners. It is one of the poorest areas in China. Its altitude ranges are from 2000 till 4000 meters and the main activities are the production of corn, wheat, barley, potatoes, buckwheat on rain fed terraces or valley plains and breeding of pigs, sheep and cows.

In Meigu about 1000 Nuosu Bimos (Yi wise people) are still active in the villages to attend the needs of the villagers (Figure 8): predict the weather, decide on best times for planting crops, perform rituals for the life cycle of birth and death, study Yi history, dialogue with nature and the Yi ancestors as well as the mythical animals. Bimos are respected persons – there is even a Bimo Museum in Meigu with several halls dedicated to famous personalities. Bimos are always men (Sing-Kiat Ting, 2017).

In the past the Bimo had many roles in society, to cure people and animals, to predict the future, to offer rituals for many different instances of life, to sacrifice roosters to please the spirits, etc. Nowadays their power is reduced as the community members have access to more services from the state and more information, but they still rely on some prayers. Their vision for the future is to revive a community of practice of Bimos, maintain their studies, increase knowledge and continue with community services. One young apprentice of Bimo expressed that he prefers to become a Bimo as the community respected and appreciated his role and person, while in the city they become second class citizens, who cannot speak Mandarin and do the work of construction helpers, etc. getting little money for their work and living in very poor conditions (24 hour beds in shifts).

### Philippines

#### Central Cordillera 2013: Ifugao terraces part of a complex land use system with potential for food diversity

According to Conklin (1960) since 2000 years ago the inhabitants of the Central Cordillera (800 to 1500 masl) have created a complex landscape with complementary land uses: grassland forest, cane land, woodlot, swidden fields, house terrace, drained field rice terraces, and pond field. Ifugao terraces expand in several districts in an area of 17 000 has of terraced paddy fields. Due to the extraordinary patterns of ecological, social, cultural and the local knowledge that has interrelated these factors Ifugao has been recognised as one of the first World Heritage Sites in 1995 and as GIAHS in 2004 (Figure 9).

In Hungduan a local wise woman and school teacher made a demonstration of useful plants from the paddy fields (Figure 11). In 60 minutes she selected more than 50 plants. She named them and presented their specific food, medicinal and spiritual uses. This ethnoclassification (PAR tool) was presented to a group of young and elder villagers and local agricultural extension workers. Young technicians were surprised about number and the values of the different plants. Young villagers were puzzled while elder villagers knew about the plants but associated them with the time of war when due to hunger they had no other choice then consuming these wild vegetables. The result yielded into a heated debate among local leaders and young technicians about the importance to recuperate the knowledge on plants in the paddy fields. They compared the benefits of incorporating them into the daily diet of the population. They expressed the desire to increase the variety of food with



**Figure 9: Ifugao Terraces as world heritage (Photo: Maruja Salas).**

local resources and not only limiting themselves to the production of a specific variety of rice as cash crop as followers of the agricultural policies.

**Thailand**  
**Chiang Rai 2009: Pakia – self-sufficient complex landscape**

The village Pakia, is the home of Akha and Lahu communities in the hills of Chiang Rai (between 800 and 1000 masl) (Figure 12). It is part of the Thagor Sub district of Mae Suai.

The 101 households are still transforming the landscape for their livelihood in a system that combines terraced paddy fields, rain fed cash crop, forest, and swidden fields. The rights to live, cultivate, hunt, fish and collect in an area within the National Forest Reserve as well as their land tenure are not guaranteed. Villagers negotiate permanently with several Government Agencies in order to remain and survive in their homelands. This ongoing process means sometimes to accept rules like producing monocultures of cash cropping or collecting non timber forest for the market economy. This new situation challenges the indigenous knowledge, which expresses in shortening long fallow periods, avoiding the use of chemicals to maintain soil fertility, rely on traditional seeds and such other mechanisms. One outstanding feature of their manifold responses to external pressure consists in focusing in different modes of transmission of the local knowledge.

A 63 year old villager reflects on his own learning experiences. His memories of childhood are related to house building, a type of portable building that require special skills and practices due to the shifting cultivators life style. As a teenager the learning of social skills to perpetuate Akha culture are still present due the subsequence practice at every stage of his life cycle (Figure



**Figure 10: Collecting biodiversity from paddy fields (Photo: Maruja Salas).**

13). He emphasizes the spiritual values learned and the orally transmitted practiced to each phase of marriage, having children and now grandchildren.

A 60 year old woman presents the idea of acquiring the specialised knowledge related to nature. That is the role of a healer, known as Nipa in the case of a woman or Bimo a male. This kind of knowledge is transmitted through the matrilineal fashion, from mother to daughter or from aunt to niece. The Bimo role is transmitted from father to son. They practice an intimate understanding of nature which is tangible in a repertoire of cognitive skills like climate forecast, seed selection, to perform rituals and ceremonies for the flow of social cohesion.

Miju, herself a Nipa sees an endangered future of healing since the younger generations are obliged to attend boarding state schools, special for ethnic minorities, far away from their home lands. Schooling is a way of removing the Akha and Lahu cultural roots from the children. When children return to their communities they dislike the food collected from the forest, they find the rice grown on the paddy field terraces not as tasty as the white industrial rice, they don't feel comfortable in their bamboo and wooden houses. They despise speak-





Figure 11: The paddy fields offer diverse food plants not only rice (Photo: Maruja Salas).



Figure 12: Terraces in the Mountains for self-consumption rice (Photo: Timmi Tillmann).



Figure 13: How to become a healer (Photo: Maruja Salas).

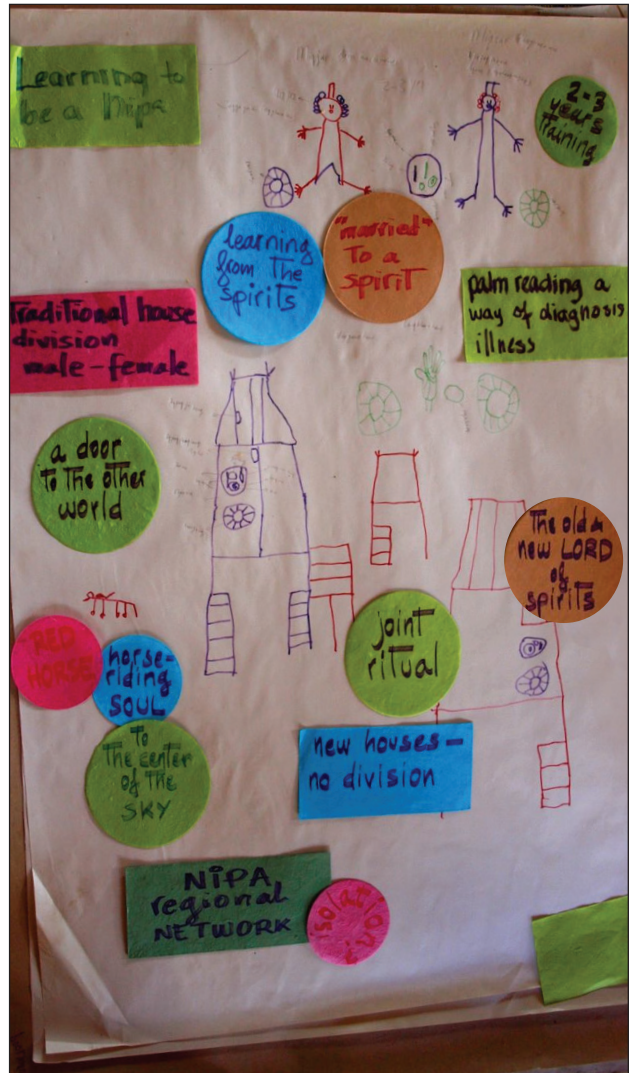
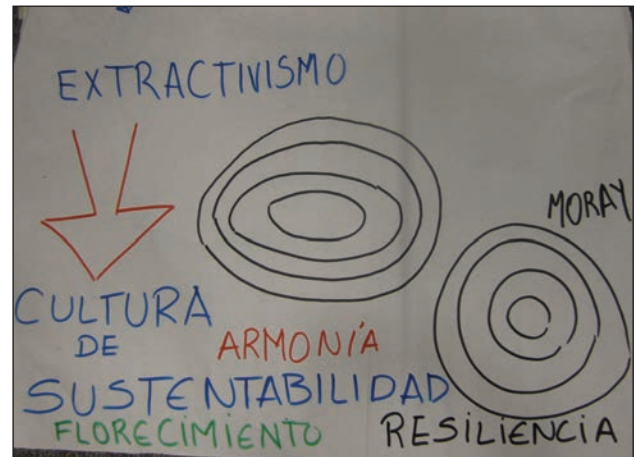


Figure 14: The future of Akha culture (Photo: Maruja Salas).





**Figure 15: Experimentation center in the Andes – Moray** (Photo: Maruja Salas).



**Figure 16: Moray as a model for the future recovery of terraces** (Photo: Timmi Tillmann).

ing their mother tongue, local believes, customs and norms and feel ashamed of their cultural background.

Exactly for that strong threat affecting the life style of Akha and Lahu, the mature and elder generations feel responsible to shift this uprooting. Transforming contradiction into opportunities is one of the cultural traits of Akha and Lahu peoples. In their vision of the future they see themselves constructing knowledge ways to enable the youth new forms of reconnecting with nature being the protagonists of practical and spiritual changes by which the young people can see more than just material comfort and having a subordinated status in the Thai society (Figure 14). In other words they strongly wish that young men and women can recreate the roles of the Nipa and Bimo in the future (Wang & Morrison, 2009).

#### Peru

##### **The Andes of Southern Peru: Circular terraced Landscape, Moray, Maras District - Cusco (3400 masl)**

Moray (Figure 15) according to John Earls (2006, 2015) is an Inka demonstration of the knowledge on microclimatic and astronomical cycles, besides a stone walling engineering achievement. Four groups of circles spread in an area of thirty-six hectares where plant breeding experimentation took place for several centuries before the Spanish conquest. The objective was to adapt crop varieties to different altitudes by simulating a diversity of temperatures on the different terraced slopes. The circular structures of Moray, indicate that it is a sun calendar as the curves correspond to the shadow of the sun at sunrise during the solstice of June (Video Otero, 2010). The bowl shaped concavities offer the possibility to test corn and other crops for different temperature conditions and make a selection of seeds. Due to the outstanding importance as a center of Pre Hispanic agriculture as well as its spiritual meaning, Moray has been acknowledge as an



**Figure 17: Organising the Terraced Landscapes Alliance in the Andes** (Photo: Timmi Tillmann, Maruja Salas).



**Figure 18: The valley of Mollebamba – staircase farming (Photo: Timmi Tillmann).**

emblematic archaeological site for the study of Andean technology and science. It is also a place of pilgrimage to worship mother earth, sun, moon and the stars.

During the 2nd World Terraced Landscape Congress in Cusco 2014, attended by farmers, scientists and activist, one group reflected and recreated Moray as a symbol to resist extractivism of natural resources and recover people's knowledge. Stressing the values of mutual help, interpersonal and intergroup cooperation the group underlined that local communities can conduct agriculture as an autonomous activity for resilience, a culture of sustainability and harmony with nature (Figure 16).

Another group, after thorough deliberations discussing the past, present and future of terraced homelands explained some key points of their vision for a stronger social organisation at different levels of responsibilities.

The families should guard their land and the stone walls by producing food crops and help each other in the tradition of mutual help (*ayni*). The community as an organised body (*ayllu*) takes care of the land use, forests, terraces and water canals and organises regularly communal work (*faena* and *minka*).

And at national and international levels the participants proposed to organise and strengthen the International Terraced Landscape Alliance (Figure 17) to voice the concerns of the terrace guardians and users defending their rights and identity (Tillmann, Bueno de Mesquita, 2015; Tillmann, Salas, 2016).

#### **Staircase Landscape in Mollebamba, Abancay 2012**

The terraces in this Interandean valley can be traced back to the Huari period (500 to 1000 years AD). The altitude ranges vary from 2950 to 4000 masl and are masterfully covered by stone wall terraces (Figure 18). The villages today expands between the upper and lower ecological zones.



**Figure 19: Perception of climate change and the damage of terraces (Photo: Maruja Salas).**

At present, the main concern of the villagers is the impact of climate change and the mining company Buenaventura. It is extracting copper from the site Trapiche, 8 km away above the community contaminating waters and weakening community organisation by engaging villagers in degrading mining jobs and impeding them to cultivate crops and maintain the stone walled terraces.

The chart visualises the perception of two 65 year old community members about changes in the last fifty years. It correlates three key aspects, rain, water sources, and the terraces.

In terms of rain, it was moderated and gentle, it did not cause harm nor floods. Rain water sources from the high zones were stored in stone walled wells to irrigate the terraces. The water flow was regulated by specialized community members who had a sense of equal distribution so that every community member could produce potatoes (*solanum tuberosum*), quinoa (*chenopodium quinoa*), tarwi (*lupinus*), maize (*zea mays*) and barley (*hordeum vulgare*) (Figure 19).

Twenty years ago, rains become stronger. Water reservoirs in lower zones favoured cash crops as part of the modernization of rural life. The terraces began to be invaded by weed. Some terraces were abandoned and other began to decay due to increasing absence of community members to maintain them.

Now, climate change has an impact on rains, they are very strong and destructive. In 20 to 30 minutes rain can cause landslides and floods. Today we do not know if it will rain. In some areas we have now hose irrigation.

Two villagers (ages 48 and 12) from the community of Silco, a sub-village of Mollebamba represented their ideas of wellbeing in their community. The depiction starts with the sacred mountains at 4,900 masl., the protectors of the communal territory and the condor as



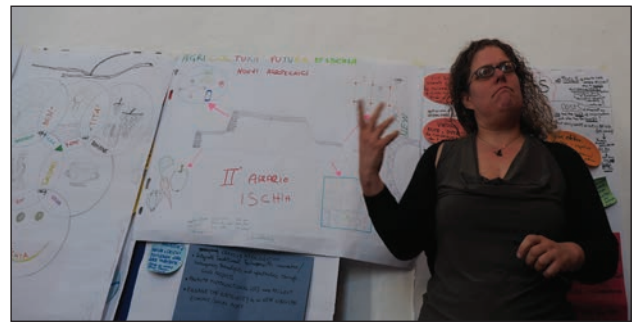


**Figure 20: Treasures of the land (Photo: Maruja Salas).**

a symbol for spiritual power. The upper part includes the clouds, main celestial indicators for rain. Herding llamas, alpacas, sheep and horses bring them close to non domesticated animals like the vicuña. The middle zone at 4000 masl is the irrigated area for cultivating barley, some patches of forest, while the lower part between 2800 and 3500 m below the villages towards the river is cultivated with maize on terraces. Other crops include potatoes, Andean tubers, quinoa, fruit trees. Near the village they hold cows for milk and cheese and pigs, chicken, ducks cut for family consumption.

The drawing of the steep slope with Andean crops was titled the *Richness of my homeland* challenging the social stigma of poverty associated to living in terraced landscapes (Figure 20).

After the presentation and debate of the farmer testimonies in the municipal meeting hall, with the presence of the local authorities and other community members a common agreement took place. It was decided to keep the exhibition and invite other communities to follow the PAR process of action-reflection-action discussing about the future on how to maintain and protect the terraced landscapes and peasant agriculture. In second place,



**Figure 21: Visions of the future from Ischia (Photo: Timmi Tillmann).**

there was a common agreement to invite the school classes of the local primary and secondary school to visit the exhibition (each class with its respective teacher) to learn about the terraces and to provide an interest to do further research with the elders about the past, present and future of the community life based on terrace agriculture. In other words, the community decided to actively shape the future of their terraced landscapes relying on their own knowledge and practices.

### Italy

#### 2016 Veneto Third World Meeting

The Third World Meeting on Terraced Landscapes in Italy 2016 provided a powerful impetus for international efforts to protect and value terraced landscapes. It offered to the participants from other continents a profound insight into the remarkable heritage of terraced landscapes in Italy by visiting 10 different terraced landscapes. The overall objective of these visits was to collect diverse ideas from local people for a wider and rich repertoire of arguments contributing for choosing the future on terrace landscapes (Tillmann, 2016).

Caring for terraced landscapes means to blend cultural and historical value, environmental and hydrogeological functions, quality of life, community empowerment and sustainable development to experiment and to share new sensible visions, new strategies and functions for terraces and their inhabitants in term of capability, inclusiveness, fulfilment and happiness.

The design of the format of this unique international encounter and the 10 days program was a sequence of interactive spaces in Venice (2 days), 10 different Field Sites all over Italy (5 days), and at the University of Padua (3 days). One of the field sites was Costiera Amalfitana (World Heritage Site since 1997) with thematic seminars and to Ischia (tentative World Heritage List since 2006) where we visited the slow food movement and the local activists.

Both in the Costiera Amalfitana and in the isle of Ischia, terraced crops are the main actors of the scene: in opposition to the harshness of geological landscapes they



**Figure 22: Agronomy students develop their proposal for the island (Photo: Timmi Tillmann).**

shape the coastline and the promontory by slithering a special whole of intensive and peculiar grandeur. Main landscape features are represented by abrupt changes in steep slopes, scarps, ledges, steep rock face and cliffs overlooking the sea. Such territory, closed between the sea and the mountain range of the Lattari, drove the inhabitants to seek their fortune and prosperity from the sea. The few arable land has been intensively cultivated from farmers who tore off the nature, allowing to construct even where it seemed to be a hard battle against the mountain. Farmers cultivated many kinds of vegetables, potatoes, eggplants, peppers, courgettes, artichokes and garden rockets besides diverse fruit trees including lemon and orange.

The island of Ischia has been occupied by many different forces in history - already in the 8th Century BC the Greeks colonised and brought wine and terraces and



**Figure 23: Cultural Identity is the clue for re-enchantment (Photo: Timmi Tillmann).**

traded with the Etruscans who also adopted terraces and wine. Romans enjoyed the products from the island (olives, wine, chestnut and almonds). During the centuries it was invaded by German tribes, pirates from northern Africa sought their fortune, it came under Norman rule, Phoenicians and Carthaginians settled for some times. And in recent history Austrian, French and English domination eyed on the local resources and the important role for the maritime trade and control.

### **‘Slow island’ of Ischia 2016**

A group of young agriculture students together with Slow Food Activist Silvia d’Ambra from Ischia presented their vision of the future of terraced landscapes (Figure 21). They favoured recovering the traditions and the abandoned terraced lands, to revive the food production for



locals and for tourists and to use modern technology of organic farming and create employment for young agronomists to take care of the land and production with quality products (Figure 22).

The activists from Ischia emphasize in their vision of the future the recovery of the (multi-) cultural identity of livelihoods (Figure 23) on their island and the promotion of good food (slow food) and millenary wine. Ischia has benefited from diverse cultures and still keeps a memory of cultural diversity reflected in cosmovisions, food and technology.

### Spain Canary Islands 2019

The IV ITLA Terraced Landscapes World Congress about the Re-enchantment of Terraced Landscapes, to be held in March 2019 in the Macaronesia (Romero 2016). It will be a unique opportunity to share knowledge, experiences and practices of various experts on the subject complementing and debating the outcomes of various fieldwork s with the vision of RE-ENCHANTING THE TERRACES. In other words to engage new insights gained on local perceptions about the flowering of terraces, where multiple combinations of ideas, aesthetic and ethical practices are intertwined in the complex of biocultural diversity.

Therefore it is being preceded by a series of events (workshops, summer school, seminars) (Figure 24) from November 2017 to March 2019 combining 2 methodological approaches: Participatory Action Research and the Landscape Observation in La Gomera, Tenerife and in Gran Canaria. Their results and experiences will be presented and will serve as a basis for the sessions, discussions, workshops and fieldwork of the 4<sup>th</sup> Congress which will focus on 4 general topics: Living with terraces, Local knowledge and wisdom, Constructing terraced landscapes and Learning for the generation and transmission of knowledge.

At the same time the group process is expected to be a continuous and long-lasting re-enchantment beyond the timeline of the Congress. This is why one of the main working methodologies are concerned with the creation of spaces for the voices of the growers and builders of terraces, for their memories and experienced knowledge and practices that they consider significant in order to renew the conditions for the terraces to be brought back to life in the future and the possibility of in-habiting them, sharing their future and evolution.

### METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

The narratives surfaced by the application of PAR methods are showing the complexity and the links between biocultural diversity and the knowledge generated by agricultural societies. Diverse people in specific



**Figure 24: Students of the PAR Workshop with field practice in Santa Lucia, Gran Canaria (Photo: Timmi Tillmann).**

ecological conditions create a wide repertoire of forms of terraced landscapes.

Terraced landscapes coincide to a certain extent to the Vavilov centres and hotspots of biodiversity. East Asia domesticated rice 8000 years ago on paddy fields and still is producing rice in hands of small scale producers, peasants in SW-China, Burma, Laos, Thailand, Vietnam, Philippines and Indonesia. In the Mediterranean region wine production and terraces existed even before the Romans disseminated this to Slovenia, France, Switzerland, Germany and still the terraced landscapes produce high quality wine having conquered a space for terrace wines. The Andean region still contribute to the world survival with more than 44 original food plants most of the cultivated in terraced landscapes in the Andes (Horkheimer, 1973).

### The diversity of Knowledge Systems

The domestication of plants involves social constructions of ideas, perceptions, concepts, values and feelings that orient human actions in reality (Childe, 1956). This is shared through language amongst groups that have a common historical experience, which is stored in the collective memory. Therefore there is no knowledge superior or inferior. There are different knowledge systems. Each one characterised by epistemological qualities, the power within which it is embedded, by different forms of transmission, and by the way it changes from generation to generation (Marglin, 2006).

The most salient epistemological and practical characteristics of the knowledge forms that have created terraced landscapes can be named as follows:

1. It is locally rooted in a particular place and as set of shared human experiences. The knowers form an epistemic community. They attribute and decode the meaning of water, stones, the sky, plants, trees, mushrooms... all elements of nature bear a special significance to them;
2. The basic modes of transmission of knowledge from generation to generation is oral, complemented with



demonstration and imitation of practical skills. Cognitive capacities like intuition and also dreaming are part of the ways in which knowledge is acquired;

3. Knowledge possesses an abstract nature and it is theoretically complex. Explanations are conveyed in cultural codes and in rituals but these are embedded in everyday life. Theories have been tested by many generations and validated by the intelligent group contributions. Contrary to what is normally said about local knowledge being static, dialogical relations show that it is an open-ended process, constantly changing, incorporating new ideas; producing and reproducing traditions, discovering, forgetting – by no means fixed or backwards but always negotiating with other knowledge traditions (Toledo & Barrera-Bassols, 2008);
4. Knowledge is unevenly distributed according to gender and generation, in the sense that although everyone shares basic knowledge to survive, some women or men of the community are inclined to develop their curiosity towards medicinal plants, observing the stars, helping to give birth, or caring for seeds. In terms of generations, some elders achieve a status of very knowledgeable or wise, showing an outstanding mastery of some skills, such as telling stories, weaving certain symbolic patterns, organising labour or predicting the weather;
5. It is sacred: some people have a more coherent degree of ritual and other symbolic constructs, acting many times as mediators between this world and the transcendental. But this person is part of the group without being considered as someone who knows everything. Since knowledge is embedded in a particular cosmovision (Posey, 1999) it is not possible to separate the technical from the non-technical, the practical from the theoretical, the mythical from the historical, the quantitative from the qualitative, the objective from the subjective and other such dualities (Pimbert, 2008);
6. Therefore, each knowledge system has a future in a world of biocultural diversity, where indigenous views and practices conquer their rights for self-determination, peace, security to coexist with other knowledge system (Visvanathan, 2006).

### The paradigm shift

In broad methodological terms, PAR considers research as the process in which people engage imaginatively in the exploration of the meaning of life actions. There are no researchers nor informants as all involved are subject of knowledge and protagonists of the outcome of reflective interactions that might lead into unexpected directions, without a pre-set agenda. The people involved in PAR might agree to: design steps for further joint actions, meet again and continue exploring, build a network, make themselves visible in another community setting,

gain confidence in articulating their voices, take a spiritual path related to the continuity of life, organize themselves together to achieve an objective, and claim their rights. All these actions and others arise from the decision to “transform”. Within the modality of PAR we decide to assume the role of facilitator instead of a classical researcher (Salas, 2010; Marshall, Reason, 2007).

To be a facilitator requires:

- Open his-her mind to deal with dynamic complexities;
- Practice a holistic approach integrating nature, culture, spirituality and well-being;
- Be an interlocutor in the dialogue; listening with sentient intelligence;
- Value the diversity of perceptions about reality; the particular cultural cosmovisions and ways of knowing;
- Be a mirror in the process of reflection, opening up to see and appreciate differences;
- Show curiosity towards the different, genuine and authentic knowledge expressions and modalities;
- Respect the autonomous decisions of the partner regarding generation, control and ownership of knowledge resulting from the PAR process;
- Be creative and respectful of the visualization of ideas that express the aesthetic and the cultural perceptions of the local partners.

The facilitator works in the field as a team. In this way, we look for clues and traces of local wisdom that contain responses to the disenchantment caused by globalization, modernization. As a team of facilitators we shift into a new paradigm as nurturer of metaphoric ideas, memories and images about human interactions with nature, and with the more-than human-world. That allows the re-enchantment of this world sharing ecological and spiritual values for the continuity of life in this planet.

### CONCLUSION

PAR is a fascinating methodology for the empowerment of people, but there are also dangers we have encountered in some circumstances of its application in the last 35 years.

Dangers of the misuse of PAR lie in manipulation of the collective ideas, routinely application of methods without creativity, technicisms of reducing development to material growth, instrumentalising knowledge for the benefit of the outsiders, collecting data and trivialisation of local wisdom.

It requires a very conscious and creative researcher as a facilitator of open-ended dialogue processes, which on one side depends on the own socialisation and personality and to learn an openness to intercultural understanding of knowledge systems to be able to foster and respect the culture of the local group.

## PARTICIPATIVNO AKCIJSKO RAZISKOVANJE: VIZUALIZIRANJE TERASIRANE POKRAJINE V AZIJI, EVROPI IN LATINSKI AMERIKI

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### POVZETEK

*Razprava se prične s pregledom konceptov in procesov participativnega akcijskega raziskovanja, katerega cilj je čim večje sodelovanje krajevnih skupnosti v raziskavah. Slednje upoštevajo preobrazbo vloge raziskovalcev, ki ni več samo v pretežnem zbiranju in povzemanju podatkov od informatorjev, torej tistih, ki znanje resnično imajo, ampak je v omogočanju pridobivanja znanja za krepitev (notranje) moči in opolnomočenja sodelujočih krajevnih skupnosti. Aplikacija participativnega akcijskega raziskovanja v Peruju, v Kitajski republiki, na Filipinih, na Tajskem, v Italiji in v Španiji temelji na zaznavi, ki jo ima lokalno prebivalstvo o terasirani pokrajini, in ugotavljanju potencialov, ki jih imajo te zaznave za preoblikovanje delovanj krajevnih skupnosti. Primeri so bili izbrani z namenom, da omogočijo metodološke vpogled v pomen odnosa med znanjem in opolnomočenjem. Pripovedi, ki jih zaznamuje uporaba metod participativnega akcijskega raziskovanja, kažejo povezave in celovitost odnosov med biokulturno raznolikostjo in znanjem, ki ga ustvarjajo kmetijske skupnosti. Različni ljudje v posebnih ekoloških razmerah ustvarjajo širok repertoar oblik terasiranih pokrajin. Nevarnosti zlorabe participativnega akcijskega raziskovanja je v manipulaciji kolektivnih idej, rutinski uporabi metod brez ustvarjalnosti, uporabi tehnik za zmanjševanje razvoja zaradi materialne rasti, instrumentalizacije znanja v korist obstrancev, zbiranja podatkov in trivializacije lokalnih modrosti. Participativno akcijsko raziskovanje zahteva zelo ozaveščenega in ustvarjalnega raziskovalca, ki spodbuja postopke odprtega dialoga, odvisne od raziskovalčeve lastne socializacije in osebnosti ter sposobnosti njegovega učenja odprtosti do medkulturnega razumevanja sistemov znanja; le tako lahko tak raziskovalec spodbuja in spoštuje kulture krajevnih skupnosti.*

**Ključne besede:** terasirane pokrajine, raziskovalna participativna metodologija, krajevne zaznave, biokulturna raznolikost

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## PAESAGGI TERRAZZATI DELL'ITALIA MERIDIONALE: UN'ANALISI COMPARATIVA TRA PASSATO, PRESENTE E FUTURO

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### SINTESI

*Sull'intero territorio nazionale italiano, migliaia di chilometri di muri costruiti in pietra a secco realizzano un mosaico affascinante di paesaggi terrazzati che si differenziano in forme, colori e agricolture al variare delle condizioni climatiche, orografiche, sociali e naturali del contesto. Tutte le zone caratterizzate da un'imponente presenza di terrazzamenti condividono bellezza, nostalgia, solitudine e paura del futuro. L'abbandono di queste terre – causato dallo svuotamento delle aree interne e dalla crisi dell'agricoltura familiare che fino agli anni Sessanta ha rappresentato l'ossatura portante del paese – ha conseguenze importanti ed estremamente negative, legate al rischio idrogeologico, alla biodiversità, alla qualità del cibo, alla conservazione del patrimonio culturale nazionale. Questo contributo riassume i risultati di tre ricerche portate avanti dall'autore dal 2016, ricerche che hanno come oggetto alcuni dei paesaggi terrazzati più rappresentativi del centro-sud Italia: gli uliveti terrazzati di Vallecorsa (FR), il paesaggio rurale dei limoneti d'Amalfi (SA), il paesaggio della pietra a secco dell'Isola di Pantelleria (TP). Lo studio di questi paesaggi è stato affrontato con un approccio olistico da molteplici punti di vista – storico, economico, sociale, visuale, compositivo – e permette di identificare dei dati comuni, in termini di potenzialità e vulnerabilità dei sistemi terrazzati.*

**Parole chiave:** paesaggi culturali, terrazzamenti, Pantelleria, Amalfi, Vallecorsa

## TERASIRANE POKRAJINE JUŽNE ITALIJE: PRIMERJALNA ANALIZA MED PRETEKLOSTJO, SEDANJOSTJO IN PRIHODNOSTJO

### IZVLEČEK

*Na tisoče kilometrov suhozidov, ki se vijejo po celotnem italijanskem nacionalnem ozemlju, tvori zanimiv mozaik terasiranih pokrajin, ki se s spreminjanjem podnebnih, orografskih, družbenih in naravnih pogojev med seboj razlikujejo po obliki, barvi in načini kmetovanja. Vsa območja, za katera je značilna izrazita prisotnost teras, zaznamujejo lepota, nostalgija, samotnost in strah pred prihodnostjo. Njihovo zapuščanje – zaradi izseljevanja iz notranjosti dežele in krize družinskega kmetovanja, ki je do šestdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja predstavljalo hrbtenico države – ima pomembne in skrajno negativne posledice, povezane s hidrogeološkimi tveganji, biotsko raznovrstnostjo, kakovostjo hrane in ohranjanjem nacionalne kulturne dediščine. Pričujoči prispevek povzema izsledke treh raziskav, ki jih je avtorica izvajala od leta 2016, in so obravnavale nekatere izmed najbolj reprezentativnih terasiranih pokrajin osrednje in južne Italije: terasirane oljčnike v Vallecorsi (pokrajina Frosinone), kmetijsko pokrajino nasadov limonovcev v Amalfiju (pokrajina Salerno) in pokrajino suhozidov na otoku Pantelleria (v pokrajini Trapani). Avtorica je za preučevanje teh območij uporabila celovit pristop, temelječ na več različnih vidikih – zgodovinskem, gospodarskem, družbenem, vizualnem in kompozicijskem –, ki je omogočil prepoznavanje skupnih lastnosti z ozirom na potencial in ranljivost terasiranih sistemov.*

**Ključne besede:** kulturna krajina, terasiranje, Pantelleria, Amalfi, Vallecorsa

## INTRODUZIONE

L'intera area mediterranea è caratterizzata da un paesaggio rurale fortemente antropizzato, in cui è spesso impossibile distinguere il confine tra opera dell'uomo e natura, sfumato nei secoli da centinaia di pratiche agricole, tradizionalmente adeguate alle condizioni climatiche, orografiche, culturali dei luoghi.

Fernand Braudel ricorda spesso come, in principio, il Mediterraneo non sia stato un *"paradiso offerto gratuitamente al diletto dell'umanità"* e come i caratteri paesaggistici più connotativi delle terre che si affacciano sul bacino siano diretta conseguenza dell'uso centenario *"disperato e implacabile"* della terra. Un paesaggio di tale fattezze, che nel corso dei secoli, ha assunto un valore universale estetico e culturale (Rodewald, Liechti, 2016, 26; Rodewald, 2011; Ambroise, Frapa, Giorgis, 1989) rappresenta oggi un patrimonio ad alta vulnerabilità:

*[...] colture a terrazza, muretti che devono essere ricostruiti continuamente, pietre che devono essere portate su a dorso d'asino prima di essere sistemate e consolidate, terra che bisogna trasportare in alto per accumularla alle spalle dei bastioni. Un'ulteriore difficoltà è costituita dal fatto che né traini, né carretti possono risalire le ripide chine: la raccolta delle*

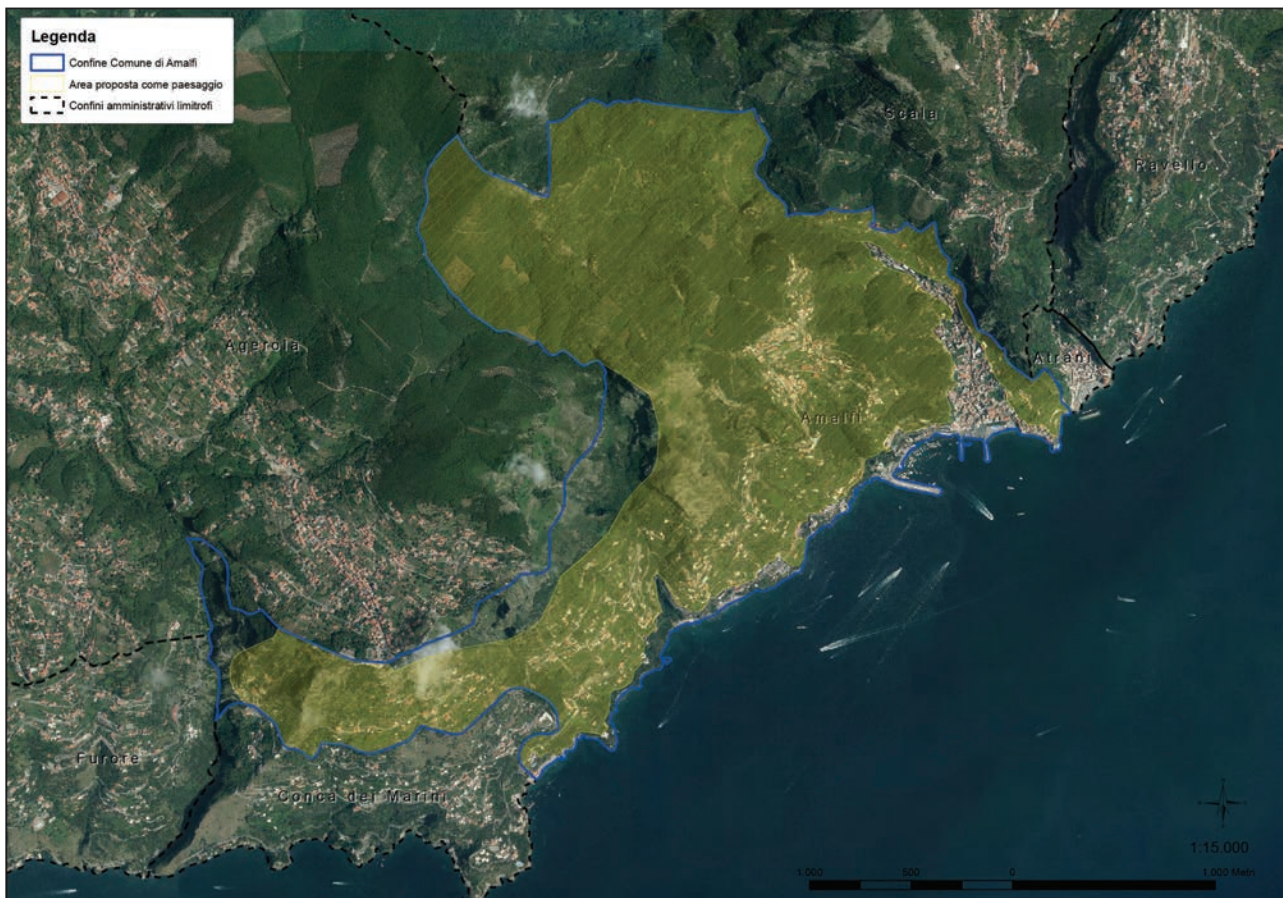
*olive e la vendemmia si fanno a mano, ed il prodotto viene portato a valle a forza di braccia. Tutto questo provoca oggi il progressivo abbandono di tale spazio agricolo del passato* (Braudel, 1977, 21).

I paesaggi terrazzati italiani, modellati su di una fitta rete di muri di piccole dimensioni costruiti in pietra a secco, hanno mantenuto le proprie forme e tramandato pratiche agricole tradizionali fino alla metà del Novecento. Dall'ultimo dopoguerra in poi, i sistemi di produzione agricola hanno subito delle drastiche trasformazioni, i processi di intensificazione produttiva hanno perseguito la semplificazione genetica, agronomica ed eco-sistemica, determinando la *"scomparsa della luciole"* pasoliniane, la crisi delle *"cento agricolture"* e l'abbandono di gran parte degli spazi rurali. Tale fenomeno risulta amplificato nelle aree agricole terrazzate, dove la produttività e la redditività è bassa a causa dei fattori ambientali sfavorevoli all'industrializzazione delle produzioni. In queste aree, la morte o l'emigrazione del coltivatore spesso portano all'abbandono dei campi e dei manufatti a servizio di questi (Istat, 2017; Paliaga, Giostrella, Faccini, 2016; Agnoletti et al., 2011; Agnoletti, 2010; Barbera, Cullotta, Rossi-Doria, Rühl, 2009) mettendo a rischio l'integrità idrogeologica dei territori e l'identità delle comunità che vi risiedono.



Fig. 1: Pantelleria, 1970 (Foto: Gabriella Giuntoli).





**Fig. 2: Area di studio per il paesaggio rurale tradizionale di Amalfi (Fonte: Immagine tratta dal dossier di candidatura al Registro Nazionale dei Paesaggi rurali storici del Ministero delle Politiche Agricole Agroalimentari Forestali e del Turismo).**

I paesaggi terrazzati rappresentano un patrimonio da tutelare con urgenza, baluardi di un sistema agricolo sostenibile, serbatoi di biodiversità, localizzati prevalentemente nei territori di montagna, nelle aree di margine, sui versanti scoscesi lungo le coste irraggiungibili se non a piedi. Il valore di questi spazi agricoli, per la società contemporanea, trascende l'attività produttiva e si alloca nella loro funzione culturale – in quanto espressione formale delle risorse e dell'orografia locale, di antichi saperi, testimonianza di divisioni fondiari, usi, costumi e riti, tracce viventi delle articolazioni delle società del passato - e nella loro funzione manutentiva, di protezione del territorio dal degrado, dagli incendi, dagli allagamenti, dalle frane.

A partire dalla constatazione della necessità di una strategia nazionale specifica delle aree terrazzate, questo contributo presenta una comparazione di tre aree dell'Italia centromeridionale che hanno in comune una

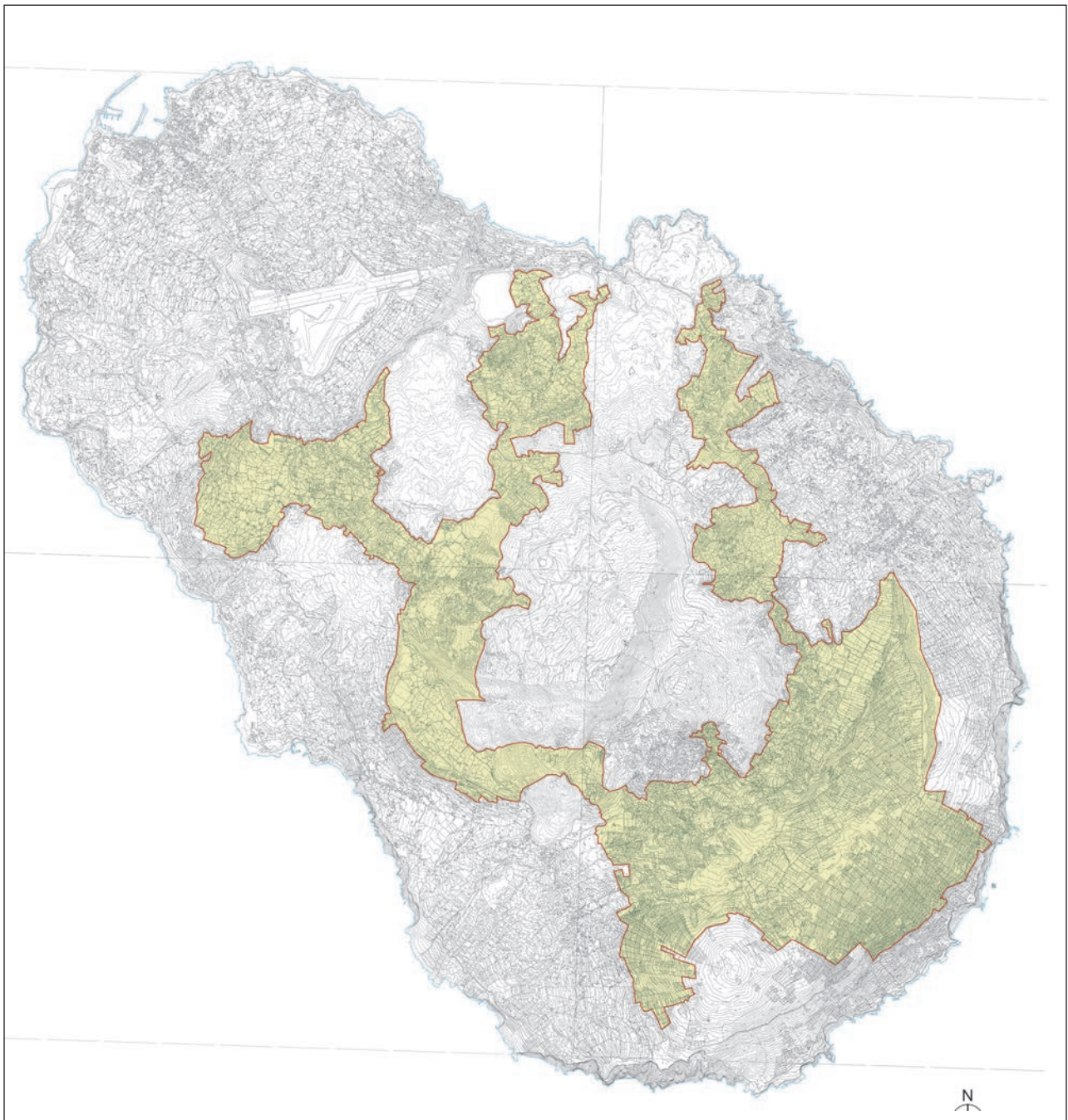
diffusa presenza di terrazzamenti nel loro territorio, tanto che l'andamento a terrazze diviene in tutti i casi la struttura portante del paesaggio, sia esso inteso in termini sociali che estetici o economici.

#### SIGNIFICATIVITÀ DEI PAESAGGI TERRAZZATI: AMALFI, PANTELLERIA E VALLECORSIA A CONFRONTO.

In questo contributo si vogliono sintetizzare gli esiti di tre ricerche, condotte tra il 2016 e il 2018 da un gruppo di ricerca del Dipartimento di Architettura dell'Università di Roma Tre e coordinate dall'autrice, aventi ad oggetto tre paesaggi terrazzati dell'Italia centro meridionale: i limoneti di Amalfi (SA – Campania), le coltivazioni dell'Isola di Pantelleria (TP – Sicilia) e gli uliveti di Vallecorsa (FR – Lazio)<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hanno fatto parte del gruppo di lavoro per Amalfi: Antonietta Amatruda, Giorgia De Pasquale, Ermelinda Di Lietp, Gioacchino Di Martino, Pietro Fico, Giuseppe Gargano, Michele Inserra, Emanuela Marrocco, Lorenzo Nofroni, Serena Savelli. Per Pantelleria: Giorgia De Pasquale, Giancarlo Gallicano, Amedeo Ganciu, Graziella Pavia, Francesca Lotta, Lorenzo Nofroni, Serena Savelli. Per Vallecorsa: Ilenia Bravo, Giorgia De Pasquale, Antonella Di Fonzo, Giuseppe Francazi, Amedeo Ganciu, Anita Mallozzi, Ernesto Migliori, Andrea Pizzotti, Serena Savelli, Sara Spognardi.





**Fig. 3:** Area di studio per il paesaggio rurale tradizionale di Pantelleria (Fonte: Immagine tratta dal dossier di candidatura al Registro Nazionale dei Paesaggi rurali storici del Ministero delle Politiche Agricole Agroalimentari Forestali e del Turismo).

Le aree prese ad esame corrispondono alle superfici iscritte al Registro Nazionale dei Paesaggi Rurali Storici, uno strumento creato dal Ministero delle Politiche Alimentari Agroalimentari e Forestali che ha l'obiettivo di censire i paesaggi rurali italiani che hanno mantenuto nei secoli un'alta permanenza di forme e usi del suolo (Agnolotti, 2010).

In particolare, la porzione di paesaggio terrazzato di Amalfi (figura 2) si estende per 474 ettari, ricoprendo l'84% circa della superficie comunale. Essa rappresenta un tratto significativo del sistema paesaggistico della Costiera: un mosaico complesso di aree seminaturali ed agricole con castagneti da frutto alle quote più elevate, oliveti, vigneti, agrumeti, orti ar-





**Fig. 4:** Area di studio per il paesaggio rurale tradizionale di Vallecorse (Fonte: Immagine tratta dal dossier di candidatura al Registro Nazionale dei Paesaggi rurali storici del Ministero delle Politiche Agricole Agroalimentari Forestali e del Turismo).

borati e colture foraggere più in basso. Il perimetro dell'area esclude, rispetto al territorio comunale, un primo tratto di costa, la città storica e le sue espansioni recenti, mentre comprende le frazioni rurali dei casali di Amalfi, tutta la fascia agrumicola terrazzata e, più in alto, la fascia boscata funzionalmente connessa alla limonicoltura.

Nel caso di Pantelleria (figura 3) è stata presa in considerazione un'area più vasta, 2200 ettari tra vigneti, uliveti, cappereti e piccoli insediamenti rurali compresi in una fascia intermedia tra la costa e la montagna, dove l'uso turistico e le relative trasformazioni hanno assunto dimensioni contenute, conservando fortemente integri i caratteri del paesaggio rurale storico.



Per gli uliveti terrazzati di Vallecorsa (figura 4), invece, sono state selezionate due aree all'interno della più ampia unità paesaggistica della valle, per un totale di 717 ettari di superficie, occupata interamente da uliveti e strade bianche.

I tre paesaggi oggetto di studio si caratterizzano per un'alta significatività, data da un'immagine identitaria largamente riconosciuta dalla popolazione locale. Dall'indagine sulla percezione sociale dei paesaggi, eseguita attraverso interviste agli abitanti, si evince che, in tali contesti, gli uomini si riconoscono nelle forme del proprio territorio – *“il vallecorsano ha plasmato la valle ma è anche stato plasmato nel carattere da questo ambiente: anche lui è duro come la pietra”* (S., 2016); *“ad Amalfi teniamo sempre un piede nella vigna e uno sulla barca”* (G., 2018) – ed esprimono un rapporto familiare con le caratteristiche della pietra del luogo.

Il valore culturale dei paesaggi terrazzati è collegato alla trasversalità storica che li contraddistingue, al tema dell'eternità – *“anche quando io non ci sarò più, e neanche tu ci sarai più, questo muretto ci sarà, rimarrà solo lui”* [A., Pantelleria] –, alla capacità di tenere insieme passato e presente. L'origine delle sistemazioni su terrazze, infatti, risale ad epoche remote: nel caso di Pantelleria alcune ricerche archeologiche (Cattani, Tusa, 2012; Orsi, 1899) hanno ipotizzato che un lavoro di spietramento e di costruzione di terrazzamenti tramite pietra sia stato avviato sull'isola già in epoca del Bronzo, parallelamente allo sviluppo del villaggio protostorico di Mursia. Ad avvalorare tale ipotesi è la posizione dell'abitato, collocato a 30 metri s.l.m., sul ciglio della colata lavica del Gelkhamar, in un sito decisamente inospitale e caratterizzato da grandi massi impervi di lava. Tale scelta suggerisce che la collocazione del villaggio fosse funzionale al massimo sfruttamento agricolo dei territori a nord dell'abitato, caratterizzati da un anfitratto con lieve pendenza e formato dai sedimenti alluvionali portati dai drenaggi che scendono dal monte. Inoltre, la presenza di terrazzamenti e il loro utilizzo per le attività agricole spiegherebbe la fioritura di Mursia, la numerosa presenza di unità abitative del villaggio e la ripartizione delle tombe monumentali in gruppi, che sta a indicare quel grado di specializzazione del lavoro e di articolazione della società per il quale è *conditio sine qua non* l'agricoltura e l'accumulo di risorse (Cattani, Tusa, 2012). Il quadro economico dell'insediamento primitivo mostra, infatti, un notevole sviluppo che permette di accertare l'avvenuto passaggio da una forma di attività agricola di sola sussistenza ad un'agricoltura estesa in ampie aree, necessariamente terrazzate, nella fase contemporanea al villaggio dell'età del Bronzo.

Nel caso della costiera amalfitana, si sono rintracciate le prime prove dell'esistenza dei terrazzamenti in epoca romana: la *“Lex Parieti faciendo Puteolana”* è una lapide che risale al 105 a.C., trovata a Pozzuoli e conservata nel Museo Archeologico di Napoli, che det-

ta le norme per la costruzione delle murature (Formica, 2010), realizzate a secco o in *opus caementicium*.

Successivamente alle indagini preistoriche e antiche riguardanti le prime tracce di terrazzamenti, le fonti medievali ci aiutano a quantificare l'estensione dei coltivi, e di conseguenza, in presenza di orografie complesse ed elevate pendenze, anche dei terrazzamenti. A Vallecorsa, negli Statuti concessi dalla famiglia Cattanei nel 1327, si trova esplicito riferimento (Sacchetti, 2005, 446–448) alle coltivazioni di ulivo che appaiono oggi racchiuse in piccoli filari sostenuti da muri a secco o, talvolta, coltivati in piccole vasche scavate nella roccia:

*19 – De colligentibus oleas alienas. Item si quis oleas alienas tam in terra quam in arbore quocumque tempore colligeret [teneatur] ad poneam duca-torum trium pro medietate, et pro medietate vicario, et emendet, damnum; et hoc etiam intelligatur de olivis colitiis sine licentia patroni ad penam predictam et nihilominus teneatur dare oleas quas legit patrono olivarum. [...] 44 – De portando ligna aliena olivae. Item si quis ligna olivae portaverit, et nesciret demonstrare in suo loco fecisse, solvat baiulo et vicario, inter ambos, carolenos quinque qualibet vice, et emendet damnum, et quilibet possit accusare, et habeat tertiam partem poenae, nec non nemo audeat plantare plantas olivae sine licentia comestabilium, quibus teneatur dicere, aut ostendere ubi, quot et quomodo fecit et ubi vulerit plantare ad poneam predictam. [trad. Se uno porta legna di ulivo e non sa dimostrare di averla fatta nel suo, paghi al baiulo e al vicario, tra entrambi, cinque carlini ogni volta, e ripari il danno; ognuno può accusarlo ed abbia un terzo della pena. Nessuno poi osi piantare piante di ulivo senza il permesso dei comestabili, ai quali è tenuto a dire o a mostrare dove, quante e in che modo le ha fatte, e dove ha deciso di piantarle, sotto la predetta pena].*

La presenza di un sistema di regole ben strutturato avente ad oggetto gli uliveti mostra una presenza consistente di tale coltivazione in epoca medievale, coltiviazione che doveva avvalersi necessariamente di terrazzamenti date le condizioni orografiche della *Vallis Cursae*.

Analogamente, ad Amalfi, lo sviluppo della produzione agricola (e dunque l'estensione dei terrazzamenti) è dimostrata da un'accelerazione degli scambi commerciali già dal XII secolo. La presenza degli agrumeti è confermata da alcune schede notarili che riportano norme su condotte d'irrigazione, manutenzione, diritti e doveri dei singoli padroni dei giardini di limoni (Giuliano, 2001). Numerosi contratti di commercio evidenziano come l'esportazione dei limoni dalla Costa d'Amalfi si spingesse ben oltre il porto di Napoli, in tutta Italia, raggiungendo i porti del sud della Spagna e della Francia. In alcuni atti riportati del 1531, si evince che i commercianti locali trasportavano tra i propri prodotti



Fig. 5: La manutenzione delle pergole sui terrazzamenti ad Amalfi (Foto: Flavia Amabile).

*“limoncellorum de India, nostrati, et cetrangulae et limoncellarum”* (Giuliano, 2001, 49) diretti ai mercati di Roma, Napoli, Livorno, Calabria e Sicilia. Un bando, datato 23 gennaio 1589 dispone e definisce il prezzo di esazione che si doveva pagare per ogni *“cofano barca-segno e per ogni cesta o cantaro di agrumi che nascono a Maiori come sono lemongelle, cetre et cetrangole et altre agrumi, e prevede una penale in caso di contravvenzione”* (Giuliano, 2001, 49).

In generale si può affermare che i paesaggi terrazzati dell'Italia centrale e meridionale attraversano sono sempre presenti nelle diverse epoche e dominazioni, con un periodo di massimo sviluppo collocato temporalmente tra il XIX e il XX secolo. In questa epoca si raggiungono le massime estensioni delle aree coltivate grazie ad alcune condizioni concomitanti: un incremento demografico senza eguali che costrinse la popolazione a coltivare versanti sempre più scoscesi (Sereni, 1961), l'ampliamento della geografia dei commerci, la fine della pirateria, l'abolizione del feudo e dello scioglimento dei diritti promiscui. Tutte le più significative descrizioni dei versanti terrazzati risalgono a questo periodo, grazie anche alla diffusione della pratica del viaggio e alla pubblicazione di molti diari. Di Pantelleria un viaggiatore del Settecento scrive:

*È talmente sassosa e alpestre che per ridursi a coltura vi hanno, si può dire, sudato sangue què poveri abitatori. Egli è uno stupore vedere a' monti ed alle scoscese colline tolto il loro declivio ed alpestre e per mezzo come sarebbe di tanti gradi formati e resi stabili con ritegni e trincere di pietre scavate in abbondanza dal medesimo sassoso terreno, resi i poderi in piano e sentirsi così dalla pioggia, che si ferma tanto che produchi gli effetti delle sue beneficenze...Par giusto di vedere quello che ne dicono i viaggiatori della Cina dove nel consimile modo le montagne son ridotte in pianura* (Broggia, 1857, 390).

Di Amalfi, e della costiera in generale Matteo Camera scrive nel 1836:

*La bellezza del paesaggio della Costiera è superiore a qualunque paragone e a qualunque descrizione. [...] fertili vigneti e giardini si alternano e si confondono insieme [...] l'agricoltura è molto florida, avendo saputo i suoi abitanti rendere fertili le più sterili montagne che si veggono coperte di vigneti, di piante di ulivi, di castagni e d'ogni sorta di frutta squisite [...] Le donne sono complesse,*





Fig. 6: Uliveti di Vallecorsa in una scena del film “Non c’è pace tra gli ulivi” di G. De Santis, 1950.

fresche e vermiglie come gli aurati pomi della loro terra [...] Il suolo ivi è generalmente leggero e pietroso, molto acconcio alla coltivazione dell’olivo e del carrubo de’ quali abbonda. Ciò non ostante la mano dell’uomo ha saputo ammansire la ferocia di questi terreni che veggonsi coperti di vigneti fatti a scaglione da’ quali ottengono de’ buoni vini e scelte frutta. La penuria delle acque, massimamente nella state è uno de’ principali danni che soffrono gli abitanti di questa contrada occidentale, i quali generalmente son provveduti di cisterne (Camera, 1860, 349).

Ad Amalfi l’estensione della superficie terrazzata raggiunge il suo apice nel periodo dal 1875 al 1890 “ma continua anche negli anni successivi: nel 1908 gli ettari di agrumenti sono diventati 481” (Giuliano, 2001, 55); a Pantelleria il Catasto del 1929 censisce una superficie coltivata (e terrazzata) che copre l’84% della superficie totale dell’Isola.

Le forme del paesaggio sono rimaste integre per tutta la prima parte del Novecento. Lo testimoniamo alcune fonti letterarie degli anni Cinquanta che descrivono terrazzamenti ancora vissuti, come nel caso di Vallecorsa:

Noi vedevamo benissimo tutta la valle di Fondi sparsa di aranceti scuri e di case bianche e poi, a destra, dalla parte di Sperlonga, la striscia del mare e sapevamo che in quel mare c’era l’isola di Ponza che, infatti qualche volta, col tempo chiaro si vedeva e sapevamo pure che a Ponza c’erano gli inglesi ossia la libertà. Ma intanto, nonostante questa vastità del paesaggio, continuavamo a vivere e muoverci e aspettare sulla macera lunga e stretta, così angusta che se si facevano quattro passi avanti si rischiava di cadere di sotto, in un’altra macera uguale. [...] Si godeva una vista veramente bella e persino io, che delle bellezze naturali non so che farmene, forse perché sono nata in montagna e la conosco troppo bene, persino io, dico la verità, la prima volta che ci fui, rimasi a bocca

aperta dall’ammirazione. Da una parte l’occhio piombava giù per il pendio maestoso, tutto macère, simile ad una scalinata immensa, fino alla valle e più lontano fino alla striscia azzurra e scintillante della marina; dall’altra non si vedevano che montagne e montagne, quelle della Ciociara, alcune spruzzate di neve o addirittura bianche, altre brulle e grigie (Moravia, 1957, 123).

Oltre alla letteratura, la consultazione di foto d’epoca consente di identificare gli anni in cui si rendono visibili le prime trasformazioni del paesaggio rurale (nei tre casi studio si datano tra la fine degli Sessanta e l’inizio degli anni Settanta), caratterizzate principalmente da una rinaturalizzazione nei suoi stadi iniziali dei campi precedentemente coltivati.

La permanenza nel corso della storia delle forme del paesaggio e delle tradizioni dell’uomo provoca un’eccezionale immedesimazione tra popolazione e terrazzamenti. Sulle pietre dei muri a secco si scarica l’affetto per i propri padri, per gli antenati, come se quei semplici gesti atti a costruire, per sovrapposizione e attrito, un muro a secco possano ridurre la distanza tra le generazioni, ingannare il tempo.

I muri in pietra a secco, laddove modellano il paesaggio, diventano iconemi (Turri, 1998, 2014), riferimenti identitari per la popolazione. Nelle interviste fatte agli abitanti, nel descrivere i tre paesaggi oggetto di studio, nessun intervistato omette di citare i terrazzamenti: “questi segni di pietra orizzontali sui versanti della valle” (V., 2016); “queste trame orizzontali che attraversano un paesaggio verticale” (L., 2016). I muri a secco sono guardati con compiacimento e commozione, socialmente percepiti nella piena consapevolezza del loro grande valore storico, ecosistemico, identitario e monumentale.

#### VALUTAZIONE DELL’INTEGRITÀ

Si è proceduto ad un confronto diacronico tra gli usi del suolo degli anni Cinquanta e quelli attuali

per valutare l'integrità dei tre paesaggi utilizzando la metodologia VASA (Valutazione Storico Ambientale) che calcola il livello di trasformazione confrontando il mosaico paesaggistico rilevato alla data del 1954-1955 (data volo GAI) con la conformazione rilevata al 2012-2016. L'uso del suolo dei due periodi di riferimento è stato estrapolato tramite foto-interpretazione del volo aereo GAE 1954-1955 per il primo, mentre per la definizione dell'attuale assetto territoriale è stata utilizzata la banca dati Corine Land Cover 2012, aggiornata tramite foto-interpretazione sulla foto aerea più recente. La digitalizzazione delle informazioni e le successive analisi sono state processate in ambiente GIS open source QGIS®. L'analisi è stata eseguita su un'unità minima cartografabile di mq. 500, che consente (rispetto alla Corine Land Cover) un livello di dettaglio tale da favorire letture e interpretazioni delle trasformazioni sensibili alle specifiche caratteristiche del paesaggio mediterraneo, che si contraddistingue per un'elevata caratterizzazione antropica, una forte pressione insediativa diffusa e un mosaico territoriale estremamente minuto ed eterogeneo.

Nel caso di Vallecorsa (Gráfica 1), l'analisi rileva nell'area in esame (717 ettari) che gli uliveti terrazzati rappresentano ancora l'uso del suolo prevalente, sebbene dei 620 ettari presenti nel 1954 oggi permangono 423 ettari coltivati (-32%), circa 90 ettari versano in vari gradi di abbandono pur non essendo tuttavia ancora perduti e circa 50 ettari dopo l'abbandono sono stati ricolonizzati da successioni secondarie che hanno portato al ritorno del bosco (dai 2 ettari del 1954 ai 52 ettari del 2012). Infine le aree urbanizzate sono passate da 8 ettari a 21.

Anche l'analisi delle trasformazioni sull'Isola di Pantelleria (Gráfica 2) mostrano nell'area di studio (2.200 ettari) una riduzione del -28,96% delle destinazioni agricole su terrazzamenti: dei 1600 ettari coltivati su terrazze oggi ne rimangono circa 1000 mentre i 600 ettari perduti si sono trasformati in aree rinaturalizzate da macchia boschiva. Minime invece le trasformazioni dovute all'edificazione in aree rurali.

Infine, ad Amalfi (Gráfica 3), si evidenzia nell'area considerata (417 ettari) una perdita di superficie coltivata ad agrumi su terrazzamenti, che passano dai 72 ettari del 1955 ai 48 ettari del 2015 (-33%) mentre i boschi di latifoglie aumentano del 38,89%, i boschi di latifoglie del 45,4% e le aree urbanizzate del 10,7%.

La sovrapposizione delle due cartografie di Uso dei Suoli, quella di epoca postbellica e quella attuale, consente di identificare la trasformazione delle tessere in termini di perimetro e area, e generare all'interno del *data base*, una colonna di dati nella quale si associa ad ogni geometria l'uso del suolo presente al 1954-1955 e l'uso del suolo rilevato nella foto aerea più recente. A seconda del cambiamento dell'uso

del suolo originario, viene associata al poligono una classe di trasformazione (invariato, intensivizzazione, estensivizzazione, forestazione, coniferamento, deforestazione, urbanizzazione) (Gráfica 4) che esprime la dinamica registrata nel confronto diacronico. Per ciascun caso, sono stati sintetizzati in una tabella i risultati in termini quantitativi, riportando nell'ultima riga e nell'ultima colonna le quantità complessive, in termini di ettari, dei vari usi del suolo storici e attuali. Ogni riga contiene i dati di trasformazione e permanenza di uno specifico uso del suolo, ogni colonna permette di visualizzare la quantità di ogni uso del suolo rilevato al 1954 che si è spostata (transizione) o è rimasta (permanenza) negli usi del suolo attuali. I numeri riportati all'interno della griglia corrispondono al valore in ettari delle superfici di determinate trasformazioni di uso del suolo, dall'uso riportato nella corrispondente colonna, a quello riportato nella corrispondente riga.

Per facilitare la lettura di sintesi attraverso le classi di permanenza e trasformazione, ogni cella della matrice è stata evidenziata con un colore corrispondente ad una dinamica di trasformazione.

Attraverso l'uso delle dinamiche e la valutazione della permanenza degli usi del suolo si individua anche l'integrità dei terrazzamenti, essendo la continuità delle colture l'unica garanzia possibile per il mantenimento del paesaggio costruito.

#### ANALISI DEI DATI

La comparazione dei dati risultanti dall'analisi delle tre aree, pur nella eccezionale singolarità e diversità dei contesti presi ad esame, consente di tratteggiare lo stato di salute attuale dei paesaggi terrazzati del Centro-Sud Italia.

La scomparsa dei paesaggi terrazzati può essere assimilata a un processo di erosione, attivo su due fronti: quello dell'urbanizzazione, con la realizzazione di una nuova rete di infrastrutture prevalentemente carrabili e la proliferazione di insediamenti a bassa densità che si propagano dai margini dei centri abitati e lungo le arterie di comunicazione, e quello dell'abbandono delle coltivazioni tradizionali con conseguente rinaturalizzazione delle aree rurali. Diversamente dalla percezione comune del fenomeno che tende ad attribuire principalmente le responsabilità della perdita di superficie agricola alla cementificazione e all'avanzamento della città, tra i due fenomeni, nel caso delle aree terrazzate, è l'abbandono ad essere il prevalente. Tale dato è confermato anche a livello generale dall'indagine *Popolus*, commissionata dal MiPAAF per quantificare i cambiamenti nell'uso del suolo fra il 2004 e il 2009, che mette in evidenza come la variazione principale registrata in Italia riguarda le aree agricole che si sono trasformate in area naturale, mentre minore è la percentuale di



**Gráfica 1: Cross tabulation sul paesaggio rurale storico di Vallecorsa.**

VALLECORSA	Acquidocci e sentieri	Aree rade	Bosco di conifere	Bosco di latifoglie	Fabbricati e strade	Seminativo	Uliveti terrazzati	Ex coltivo	Totale al 1954
Acquidocci e sentieri	9.5	0.4	0.1	0.5	2	0.1	6.9	1.2	20.8
Aree rade	0.3	20.8	17.8	7.7	0.8	0	5.4	0.8	53.8
Bosco di latifoglie		0.4	0	1	0	0	0.4	0.4	2.2
Fabbricati e strade	0.2	0.1	0	0.1	5.3	0.1	2.8	0.2	8.8
Seminativo	0	0.8	0	0.6	0.4	0.8	5.7	0.8	9.9
Uliveti terrazzati	6.1	5.2	0.9	42.4	12.9	1.9	463.3	87.2	620.6
Totale al 2015	16.1	27.3	18.8	52.3	21.4	2.9	484.5	90.8	716.3

**Gráfica 2: Cross tabulation sul paesaggio rurale storico di Pantelleria.**

PANTELLERIA	Coltivazioni su terrazze	Edificazione	Ex coltivo	Formazione boschiva	Macchia mediterranea	Seminativo	Serre	Sistema culturale complesso	Strada asfaltata	Strada sterrata	Totale al 1954
Coltivazioni su terrazzamenti	941.3	13.0	446.7	112.4	24.7	9.4	1.2	45.6	0	13.9	1608.3
Edificazione	0.1	37.1	0.2	0	0	0	0	0.1	0	0	37.5
Ex coltivo	0	0	0.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.2
Formazione boschiva	7.5	0.2	13.6	151.3	25.1	0	0	0.7	0	0.1	198.5
Macchia mediterranea	5.9	0.1	17.8	41.9	67.3	0	0	0	0	0	133.0
Seminativo	2.3	0.1	0.6	0	3.2	42.2	0	1.1	0	0	49.5
Serre	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sistema culturale complesso	15.6	3.7	41.4	16.5	5.7	0.1	0	40.8	0	1.3	125.0
Strada asfaltata	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13.6	0	13.6
Strada sterrata	0.1	1.8	0.1	0.1	0.1	0	0	0	0	27.0	29.0
Totale al 2015	972.8	55.9	520.7	322.1	126.1	51.7	1.2	88.3	13.6	42.3	2194.7

**Gráfica 3: Cross tabulation sul paesaggio rurale storico di Amalfi.**

AMALFI	Aree urbanizzate	Agrumeti	Orti	Vigneti	Oliveti	Seminativi arborati	Seminativo con oliveto	Seminativo con vigna	Boschi di latifoglie	Rimboschimento di conifere	Arbusteti	Aree rade	Totale al 1954
Aree urbanizzate	44.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	44.2
Agrumeti	20.9	31.5	0.9	1.4	0.8	5.7	3.2	0	10.4	0.2	4.6	0.3	79.9
Orti	4.6	0	8.1	6.2	0	1.9	1.6	0	2.1	0	5.4	0	30.2
Vigneti	3.6	1.8	1.0	4.4	0	1.3	0	0	2.0	0	8.6	0	22.8
Oliveti	0.7	0	0.5	0	0	0.9	0.3	0	0	0	1.0	0	3.4
Seminativi arborati	1.8	4.1	0.1	2.3	0.7	1.5	0.3	0	8.8	0.1	3.6	0	23.5
Seminativo con oliveto	3.9	0.8	0	0.6	0.8	0	0.5	0	0.2	0	1.9	0.1	8.7
Seminativo con vigna	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.3	0	2.5	0	1.6	0	4.5
Boschi di latifoglie	0.6	0.1	0.6	0	0	0.8	0.2	0	149.5	0	55.8	0	207.6
Rimboschimento di conifere	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arbusteti	6.1	2.3	2.3	1.1	0.1	0.6	0.1	0.1	48.0	1.3	75.9	0.7	138.6
Aree rade	1.4	0.8	0.8	0.1	0	0	0	0	1.1	0	0.8	3.7	8.4
Totale al 2015	88.0	41.4	13.8	16.1	2.5	12.7	6.6	0.1	224.7	1.7	159.2	4.7	571.4

Invariato	
Urbanizzazione	

Intensivizzazione	
Estensivizzazione	

Forestazione	
Deforestazione	

Coniferamento	
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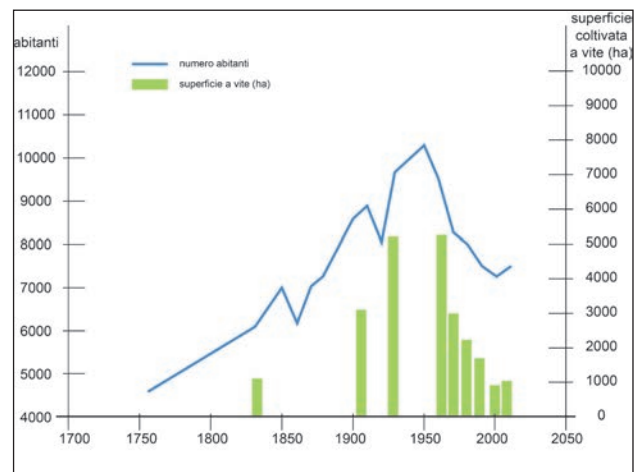
aree agricole che si sono trasformate in aree artificiali. Abbiamo perduto e continuiamo a perdere paesaggi terrazzati a vantaggio di una vegetazione boschiva derivante da processi di ricolonizzazione di specie pioniere arbustive ed arboree forestali.

Una seconda valutazione riguarda, invece, l'aspetto economico e amministrativo. Risulta, infatti, sempre presente una significativa differenza tra gli ettari di superficie coltivata censita dai censimenti dell'agricoltura degli ultimi anni e la superficie coltivata individuata tramite fotointerpretazione delle foto aeree, risultando significativamente minore la prima rispetto alla seconda. Il motivo di tale discordanza trova le sue ragioni nella scarsa redditività delle pratiche agricole su terrazzamenti che hanno nel corso degli anni trasformato l'agricoltura da attività principale (e dunque censibile) ad attività secondaria, quasi un'agricoltura part-time da praticare a livello familiare. In questo caso le terre coltivate sfuggono al sistema degli incentivi e dei fondi dei Piani di Sviluppo Rurale regionali, i loro prodotti restano lontani dai mercati e si utilizzano per il solo uso domestico o comunitario. L'agricoltura su terrazzamenti è oggi in larga parte praticata in Italia come attività svolta a titolo di sola integrazione del reddito da persone dell'ambito familiare, occupate lavorativamente altrove, nell'industria o nel terziario. Tale fenomeno sociale comporta una drastica riduzione del tempo da poter dedicare alla manutenzione delle terre e dei muri in pietra a secco, che iniziano pian piano a cedere nella solidità e stabilità, perdendo componenti, fino a crollare.

#### DETERMINAZIONE E COMPARAZIONE DELLE VULNERABILITÀ

I tre territori presi in esame hanno subito dagli anni Cinquanta dello scorso secolo in poi un rilevante processo di marginalizzazione, derivante prevalentemente dai processi di de-antropizzazione postbellici che hanno visto l'aumento repentino della popolazione urbana e una parallela riduzione e senilizzazione di quella rurale. Questa condizione, nel corso dei decenni successivi, ha accelerato una riduzione significativa della capacità occupazionale e dell'offerta locale di servizi pubblici, privati e collettivi, che definiscono la qualità della vita delle popolazioni residenti nei paesaggi terrazzati e, parallelamente, un allentamento del presidio dell'uomo sul territorio.

Indicativo in questo senso è il calo del numero di aziende in ciascuno dei territori analizzati (Vallecorsa: da 754 nel 1929<sup>2</sup> a 516 del 2000<sup>3</sup>; Pantelleria -66%: 2418 aziende nel 1982, 900 aziende nel 2010<sup>4</sup>; STR 17 – Amalfi -62%: 6.275 aziende nel



**Fig. 7: Grafico della superficie coltivata a vite (barre) e numero di abitanti (linea) di Pantelleria (Fonte: Aggiornamento di RÜHL, 2003 con dati Istat 2011).**

2010, 16.673 aziende nel 2000<sup>5</sup>) e l'età della popolazione occupata nel settore primario sulle aree terrazzate (a Vallecorsa su 502 aziende, 334 hanno un capoazienda che supera i 60 anni di età; a Pantelleria su 900 aziende, 600 hanno un capoazienda che supera i 60 anni di età).

Altro elemento di fragilità comune ai tre territori appare una tendenza contraria al sistema nazionale, ovvero la piccola dimensione delle aziende agricole presenti sul territorio. Permangono le piccole aziende agricole, aziende individuali, con basse capacità di persistenza.

#### STRATEGIE PER LA TUTELA E LA PERMANENZA DEI PAESAGGI TERRAZZATI

Lo studio dei paesaggi di Amalfi, Pantelleria e Vallecorsa mostra un'alta vulnerabilità dei sistemi paesaggistici terrazzati e un processo di erosione in atto dagli anni Settanta del Novecento, che si traduce in un avanzamento del bosco spontaneo e una riduzione significativa della superficie coltivata su tutto il territorio nazionale.

Al fine di identificare le strategie più adatte per fermare tale processo degenerativo, si è cercato di analizzare l'impatto di alcune azioni, messe in pratica dalle Amministrazioni locali o dalle imprese agricole, in grado di avviare percorsi virtuosi atti a proteggere le aree terrazzate. Tali azioni si sviluppano attorno a tre temi: lo studio delle specificità territoriali, la verifica della sostenibilità economica delle produzioni e la promozione di un turismo rurale consapevole.

<sup>2</sup> Istituto Centrale di Statistica del Regno D'Italia (1929).

<sup>3</sup> Camera di Commercio di Frosinone (2000).

<sup>4</sup> ISTAT (2010): 6° Censimento Generale dell'Agricoltura.

<sup>5</sup> ISTAT (2010): 6° Censimento dell'Agricoltura della Regione Campania.



Nel primo insieme ricadono tutte le iniziative volte alla conoscenza, alla promozione e al riconoscimento del paesaggio terrazzato come bene collettivo, di cui molti beneficiano ma che, al contrario, è salvaguardato dal lavoro di pochi (i contadini), che ne sopportano il costo e la fatica. Per aumentare la consapevolezza del valore del proprio territorio, sia nella popolazione residente, sia nei visitatori, le Amministrazioni dei tre paesaggi presi in esame hanno deciso di candidare i propri territori al Registro Nazionale dei Paesaggi Rurali Storici del Ministero delle Politiche Agricole Agroalimentari e Forestali, ottenendo l'iscrizione nel 2016 (Vallecorsa), 2017 (Pantelleria) e 2018 (Amalfi). Tale riconoscimento ha aumentato la visibilità e la riconoscibilità del territorio a livello nazionale, permettendo anche di creare un binomio paesaggio-prodotto tipico (limoni sfusati-terrazzamenti; uva zibibbo-terrazzamenti; oliva vallecorsana-terrazzamenti). Sempre al fine di diffondere la consapevolezza delle regole che sorreggono l'intero paesaggio, si censiscono alcune iniziative didattiche promosse da enti privati o cooperative agricole: corsi di costruzione e manutenzione di muri in pietra a secco, congressi, incontri annuali si alternano e susseguono periodicamente nei versanti terrazzati presi ad esame, con un diffusione ancora troppo limitata agli appassionati e agli addetti ai lavori.

Un secondo aspetto riguarda la sostenibilità economica delle produzioni: il mantenimento delle forme caratteristiche del paesaggio è, infatti, strettamente legato alla permanenza di un'agricoltura praticata sia a livello imprenditoriale che familiare. Tale permanenza è vincolata alla redditività delle coltivazioni su terrazze, caratterizzate da costi di produzione e lavorazione più alti, che andrebbero compensati con adeguati prezzi di vendita dei prodotti finali. Un secondo tipo di azioni qui censite sono quindi finalizzate ad aumentare il prezzo del prodotto tipico, utilizzando la bellezza dei paesaggi terrazzati per aumentarne la capacità di inserimento nelle fasce più alte del mercato. In tal senso si rileva una diffusa aspettativa nei tre luoghi oggetto di analisi per il marchio di qualità "Paesaggio rurale storico", commissionato dal MiPAAF per i paesaggi iscritti nel Registro, perché quest'ultimo, posizionato sulle etichette di ogni prodotto coltivato all'interno dei paesaggi rurali storici, permetterà di trasformare il paesaggio, e il suo valore in termini storici ed estetici, in un valore aggiunto, un valore non riproducibile dalla concorrenza (Agnoletti, 2010; Marson, 2008). Per aumentare la redditività delle coltivazioni tradizionali, si sono inoltre dimostrate utili alcune iniziative volte al potenziamento della filiera corta (Carrosio, 2004, 78-93; Calori, 2009) – come avviene, ad esempio, ad Amalfi, tramite un mercato contadino organizzato dall'amministrazione comunale a cui possono partecipare i coltivatori locali, anche con piccole produzioni - e alcune forme di retro-in-

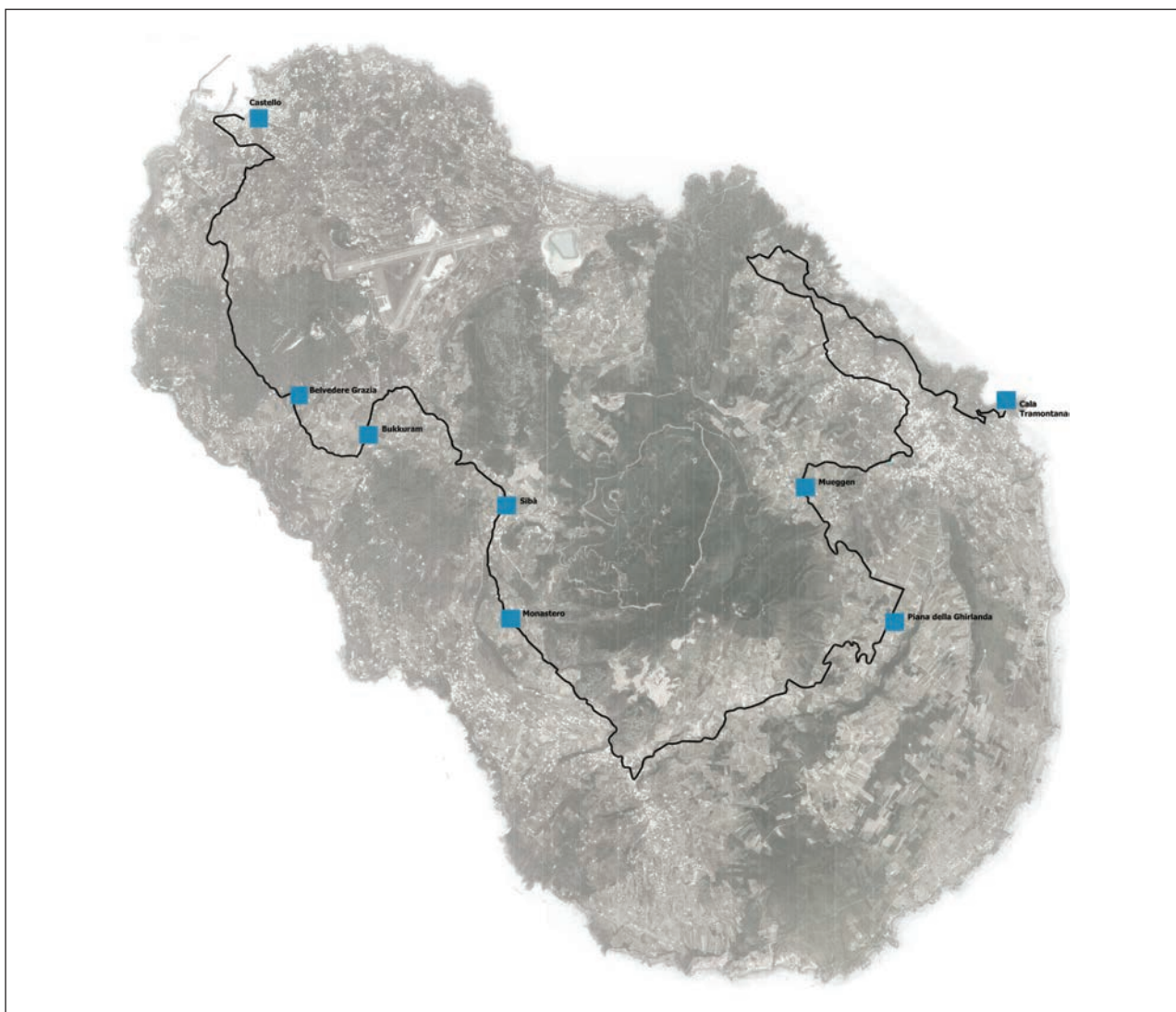
novazione (Marsden, Banks, Bristow, 2002, 809-825; Cassimatis, Terranova, 1998, 879-898) – sul modello delle teleferiche di Amalfi, che trasportano da un terrazzamento all'altro cesti di limoni sfusati o delle monorotaie presenti nel Parco delle Cinque terre, o ancora l'utilizzo di minitrattori a Pantelleria – che permettono di ridurre notevolmente i costi di lavorazione e di raccolta.

Vi è, infine, un'ultima categoria di azioni, orientate ad amplificare la capacità di un territorio di accogliere un turismo culturale interessato agli aspetti rurali più autentici, attraverso il quale è possibile veicolare il successo di alcune produzioni tipiche e un processo di riqualificazione del paesaggio. Nonostante i tre casi studio siano caratterizzati da paesaggi unici e di altissimo valore estetico naturalistico, si è riscontrato una scarsa presenza di multifunzionalità nelle imprese agricole esistenti e, in particolare ad Amalfi e Pantelleria, il grande successo turistico influenza solo marginalmente il settore agricolo. Sull'ultima categoria di azioni appare importante, dunque, soffermarsi, perché si evidenzia la necessità di questi spazi rurali, affascinanti e decadenti al tempo stesso, di una progettazione su varie scale, che possa facilitare un'infrastrutturazione leggera, la creazione di una rete organica di percorsi (itinerari culturali, enogastronomici, naturalistici) che permettano di attraversare, comprendere e orientarsi dentro il paesaggio.

Gli stessi Piani di Sviluppo Rurale regionali promuovono interventi su varie scale: dalla riqualificazione dei tessuti insediativi dei borghi e delle frazioni rurali, alla creazione di itinerari tematici, alla sistemazione dei spazi pubblici e spazi di sosta, al recupero del patrimonio storico dell'edilizia rurale, sino anche alla realizzazione di strutture e servizi culturali, quali ecomusei, reti di musei o spazi espositivi. Un'esperienza in tal senso, in corso di realizzazione, è la "Strada della vite ad alberello di Pantelleria", un itinerario didattico composto da numerose tappe, attraverso il quale il visitatore può comprendere le relazioni tra le forme del paesaggio, la storia, la geologia e l'agricoltura dell'Isola.

Al progetto su larga scala, si accompagnano interventi puntuali, progetti di valorizzazione e restauro dei beni culturali che vengono trasformati in musei (vedi il Museo Civico Demo Etno Antropologico aperto al pubblico nel 2002 dal Comune di Vallecorsa presso i locali del convento di Sant'Antonio), progetti di nuovi spazi che fanno da cassa di risonanza alla cultura rurale dei luoghi.

Si censiscono anche delle iniziative private che hanno accelerato l'uso e la permeabilità dello spazio rurale terrazzato da parte di un numero sempre crescente di persone, come ad esempio l'apertura al pubblico del giardino pantesco donato al FAI dall'azienda agricola DonnaFugata o il *lemon tour* organizzato dall'impresa agricola familiare di Gigino Aceto,



**Figura 8:** La strada della vite ad alberello. L'itinerario carrabile è lungo circa 30 km e ha inizio al Castello. Dal paese si addentra nelle zone più interne dell'Isola, attraversando la Strada panoramica e la suggestiva macchia mediterranea sulla colata lavica più recente che accompagna il visitatore fino al Belvedere di Grazia. Si prosegue per tutte le aree a maggiore vocazione vitivinicola: Bukkuram, la piana di Sibà, la piana di Monastero, contrada Serraglio, la piana di Ghirlanda, Mueggen. Passando per le contrada Khamma, la Strada si ricongiunge alla perimetrale fino a Cala Tramontana, dove si conclude il percorso traguardando il mare con la medesima prospettiva dello zibibbo che lì, in quella stessa cala, prendeva il largo sui velieri alla volta della terraferma. Lungo i percorsi sono previsti dei punti di sosta, dove sarà possibile ricevere informazioni o semplicemente sedersi tra i vigneti e il silenzio, osservando terrazzamenti e campi coltivati ad alberello. L'itinerario è stato anche progettato in modo tale che, percorrendolo, si possano ammirare tutte le specie vegetazionali presenti sull'Isola (il bosco sempreverde, la macchia mediterranea, steppa e gariga) e si possano riconoscere le diverse nature geologiche dei terreni. Sarà così possibile confrontare i colori che la pietra assume nei diversi versanti dell'Isola, le tecniche costruttive dei muri a secco, la topografia dei luoghi, la loro storia, le scelte legate alla viticoltura. La Strada della vite ad alberello è un progetto a basso impatto ambientale e paesaggistico che prevede un uso moderato di segnaletica verticale e pochi punti informativi in acciaio cortèn in prossimità dei punti di sosta e del Castello. Per tutte le altre informazioni è prevista la messa in rete di una piattaforma digitale interattiva (sito web+App) in cui sia visibile l'itinerario su varie scale, la propria posizione lungo il percorso e vari temi di approfondimento anche a mezzo di QRcode stampato sulla segnaletica. In alcuni punti saranno per esempio disponibili sul proprio cellulare le foto storiche che ritraggono lo stesso paesaggio che si sta osservando negli anni '60, dando così la possibilità all'osservatore di confrontare i paesaggi a 50 anni di distanza, capire le modifiche del territorio agricolo intercorse (Fonte: elaborazione dell'autore).



che ha portato centinaia di turisti, stranieri e italiani, a camminare, cucinare, mangiare, rinfrescarsi sui limoneti terrazzati amalfitani.

Questo tipo di esperienze, sia pubbliche che private, dimostra come i paesaggi terrazzati possono trasformarsi in un fattore di crescita economica importante, per cui la loro tutela si trasforma di volta in volta in opportunità per creare valore, ricchezza e occupazione sul territorio. Le specificità di ogni paesaggio terrazzato possono essere considerate le

risorse su cui costruire un processo di rinnovamento sociale ed economico, indirizzando meglio alcune risorse del Piano Strategico Nazionale per lo Sviluppo Rurali ai paesaggi rurali storici, superando il divario novecentesco tra processi di sviluppo e istanze di protezione del territorio, tentando di conciliare un passato ricco di storia e di bellezza con un futuro che mira alla sostenibilità ecosistemica, alla sicurezza idrogeologica, alla garanzia alimentare.

## TERRACED LANDSCAPES IN SOUTHERN ITALY: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS BETWEEN THE PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

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### SUMMARY

*In Italy, many kilometres of dry stonewalls describe a big area of cultural landscapes, changing colours and forms depending on local orographic, social and natural data. They all share beautiful, loneliness and fear of the future. The abandonment of terraced agricultural areas is a vast problem that, besides increasing geological risk, also introduces consequences such as losses in productive land, damage to bio-diversity and to cultural heritage. Since 2016, the Department of Architecture at the University of Roma Tre has been supporting communities that want to protect their landscape heritage, looking for contextual saving-strategies. This text summarizes the results of three researches that worked on some of the most representative terraced landscapes of central and southern Italy: the terraced olive groves of Vallecorsa (FR), the rural landscape of the lemon groves of Amalfi (SA) and the historical rural landscape of Pantelleria Island (TP). The study of these landscapes has been tackled with a holistic approach, including historical, economic, social, visual information. This kind of comparison allows to identify common data in terms of potential and vulnerability of Italian terraced systems.*

**Keywords:** cultural landscape, terracing, Pantelleria, Amalfi, Vallecorsa



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## IS THERE A FUTURE FOR TOURISM IN TERRACED LANDSCAPES? A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LANDSCAPE RESOURCES AND TOURISM CONSEQUENCES IN VALTELLINA (ITALY) AND LESVOS (GREECE)

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### ABSTRACT

*This article addresses the complex set of options and outcomes both for tourism and for terraced landscapes stemming from tourism development in such destinations, by focusing on the scenarios that develop from possible interrelationships between two compound variables: a) landscape resource consumption and b) tourism consequences, in two case studies: Lesvos, Greece and Valtellina, Italy. This comparative analysis is carried out with in-depth interviews of relevant stakeholders, leading to the construction of future scenarios for the specific case studies. The article closes with a discussion of these two compound scenario outcomes, as storylines, through which future change and sustainability may be envisaged and advocated in our two case study areas, as well as in other similar contexts.*

**Keywords:** terraced landscapes, tourism, future scenarios, Valtellina, Lesvos

## C'È FUTURO PER IL TURISMO NEI PAESAGGI TERRAZZATI? UNO STUDIO COMPARATIVO SULLE RISORSE PAESAGGISTICHE E SULLE CONSEGUENZE TURISTICHE IN VALTELLINA (ITALIA) E LESBO (GRECIA)

### SINTESI

*Questo articolo affronta la complessa serie di conseguenze, relative sia al turismo che ai paesaggi terrazzati, derivanti dallo sviluppo turistico di tali destinazioni, concentrandosi sugli scenari che derivano dalle possibili interrelazioni tra due variabili: a) il consumo di risorse paesaggistiche e b) le conseguenze del turismo. A tal fine, lo studio esplora due casi di studio: Lesbo, in Grecia e la Valtellina, in Italia. Questa analisi comparativa viene effettuata con l'ausilio di interviste approfondite ad alcuni stakeholders e porta alla costruzione di scenari futuri per ciascun caso. L'articolo si chiude con la discussione degli scenari emersi, visti come trame lungo le quali è possibile immaginare i cambiamenti futuri, nei casi considerati così come in altri contesti simili.*

**Parole chiave:** paesaggi terrazzati, turismo, scenari futuri, Valtellina, Lesvos



## INTRODUCTION

Landscape is indispensable to tourism, while tourism produces, reproduces and consumes landscape resources, in a variety of ways, imparting both desirable and non-desirable consequences on the landscape, the place and the society of a tourism destination.

After a brief theoretical staging in the context of contemporary tourism and landscape studies, the article explores the assets represented by terraced landscapes and the consequences of tourism development, based on a conceptual framework that will then guide the analysis of two case studies: the Valtellina Valley in Italy and Lesvos Island in Greece.

There is a growing attention, in the academic and institutional debate, towards terraced landscapes and especially towards analysis of the conditions for the future survival of their internationally recognized cultural and natural values (Tillman & Salas, 2016). Tourism is often proposed as a key variable in this terraced-landscapes-future equation, but much has to be done in order to understand, define and evaluate its feasibility and its concrete implications for the local ecosystems and socio-economic contexts. In other words, it is crucial to understand if there is a future for tourism in terraced landscapes, which is what this article seeks to explore.

In this research paper, we choose a scenario approach in order to analyze and compare the two case studies; scenarios are built through interviews with relevant stakeholders, thus complying also with the participatory perspective proposed by the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe, 2000). This future-oriented approach is deemed especially helpful here, due to the large number of interlinking and interacting variables coming into play in an analysis of terraced-landscape tourism, i.e. mild-mass tourism; multifunctional-monofunctional tourism; external-internal challenges and threats; present assets, resources, problems and future potentials and challenges.

## TOURISM AND TERRACED LANDSCAPES

On the basis of its mediational nature between an objective reality and a subjective construct, landscape represents the primary, ready and most enduring medium of contact between tourist and prospective or consumed place of travel. The tourism industry markets images, discourses, resources and uses of landscapes, through representations of their cultural signs. The tourist/ visitor, through processes of experiential re-interpretation of the signs, assesses and validates the meanings of the destination, while consuming its landscape, as well as landscape resources and services, within the predominant discourse (Cohen, 1979; Urry, 1990; MacCannell, 1992; Terkenli, 2014). Therefore, the relationships that develop between landscape and tourism or tourists may span the whole range from hosting vs consumption, to

representation vs performance, to pleasure and sensual fulfillment vs. cognitive experiencing of the physical context (Lorimer, 2005; Löfgren, 1999; Crouch, 1999; Rose, 1996). All of these variables come into play, when analyzing tourism in terraced landscapes, as in the present study, where they will be negotiated in a rather concise way, building on previous research (Terkenli *et al.*, 2019).

The past few decades have been witnessing the accelerated growth of scope (special-interest and alternative) tourism/ leisure, targeting specific niches of the tourism/ leisure market (Hall *et al.*, 2014; Rojek & Urry, 1997), signaling a distinction between ‘mass’ and ‘mild’ forms of tourism. Terraced landscape tourism may involve both of these types of tourism (and all sorts of combinations thereof), with very diverse repercussions both for the landscape and societies involved, as well as for the tourism industry.

Rural terraced landscapes, whether of ancient origins or more recent construction, tend to be connected to the ideal of the “campagna” (Rodewald & Liechti, 2016) and, generally speaking, to traditional pre-industrial agriculture (before the sector’s large-scale mechanization and industrialization), with different repercussions, in terms of both local development and tourism trends. Often, these rural landscapes suffer from abandonment, caused by marginality (mountain or island areas), by ageing populations, by modernization and mechanization of agriculture and by collapsing rural systems, when farmers’ incomes become too low. On the other hand, not only do they support subsistence systems or thriving agricultural economies around the world, they also create very original vertical landscapes, with spectacular views, which represent part of the local, national or even ecumenical cultural heritage. Thus, they acquire great value as cultural landscapes, witnesses of ancient practices in the context of humans’ interrelationships with their physical milieu. At the same time, they offer a long series of experiences that cater to various contemporary special-interest and alternative forms of tourism, such as agro-tourism, eco-tourism, gastro-tourism, adventure, history, culture, etc.

Terraced landscape resources and assets range from material products and sights to immaterial ones, such as relaxation or thrills. They cater to educational, spiritual, or other experiential motives; they include not only those poles of tourist attraction such as gastronomy and heritage, but also the requisite infrastructures for tourist hospitality and general accommodation. In the rest of the article, these will all be considered as landscape “resources”, used by and consumed through tourism, imparting a series of consequences on the destination landscape, which range from positive to negative and engender multiple spatial and socio-economic repercussions.

We may distinguish between different types of resource use by the tourists, at the visited terraced land-

scape destination: natural features, local food and drink, cultural values, leisure amenities, experiential stimuli, etc. (i.e. rural pilgrimages, hiking trails and cultural routes). Accordingly, milder (less intensive, alternative or resource-conscious) types of tourist activity tend to impart fewer adverse consequences (including negative impacts) on these landscapes, leaving a lighter imprint on them, thus contributing more to their sustainable function and development.

As regards its positive impacts and consequences, tourism is seen, from the point of view of the local community, as an economic activity able to curb terrace abandonment, increase local incomes and preserve both the cultural heritage and slope stability. Tourism, however, is neither an automatically or unequivocally positive solution for terraced landscapes, nor does recognizing the values of the terraces constitute a sufficient condition for tourism attraction and stimulation. For the supply side of tourism to become competitive and attractive, it also requires investment in various infrastructures, accommodation, facilities, transportation and communication, as well as appropriate management and marketing strategies, in order to contain its negative impacts and repercussions, such as environmental degradation, cultural erosion, agricultural abandonment, visual deterioration or standardization or spatial congestion. The latter usually come about as a result of overuse or over-exploitation of resources and neglect or under-rating of needs and problems. Appropriate management and marketing strategies are thus essential, and also apply to the cases in which the visited landscape is seen merely as a visual stimulus, a set of signs of a mere background of the visited destination (MacCannell, 1992), especially where tourism is not primarily motivated by or revolving around the terraces themselves.

#### ASSETS AND CHALLENGES FOR TERRACED-LANDSCAPE TOURISM: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Considering landscape resources is essential in the analysis of the terraces-tourism relationship, especially since the landscape approach encompasses material and immaterial assets and values in a multi-dimensional framework (Aitchison et al., 2000; Terkenli, 2014).

As well exposed by Hoefle (2016), presenting the case of rural and eco-tourism in the Central Amazon, global and EU rural politics and leisure trends are both converging towards the multi-functionality paradigm, as an answer to the post-industrial and post-productive changes in agriculture and tourism. As in the Amazon, also in the case of European terraced landscapes, we experience the loss of productivity of a certain agricultural system, based on traditional and often human-powered modes of production, which survives (or attempts to do so) solely by diversifying its functions. Although we consider the multifunctional scenario as the only one

compatible with terraced landscape sustainability, it is not without impacts on the environmental and socio-economic systems that it develops.

Bearing in mind these implications, we may outline the various resources that terraced landscape can offer to tourism, as assets for the development of multifunctionality (Wilson, 2010, 367) for the entire terraced system.

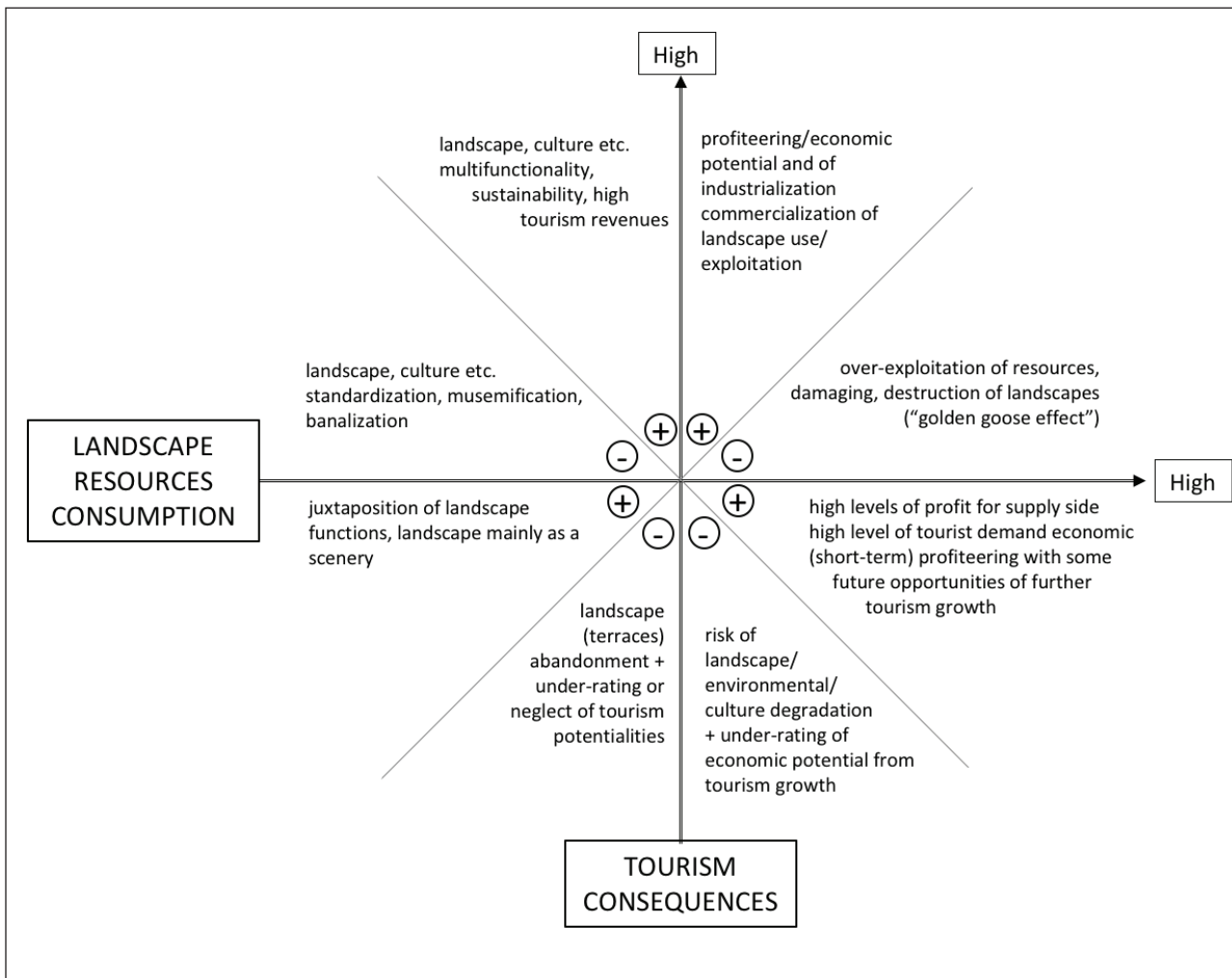
Firstly, there are material features characterizing terraced landscapes which may directly offer at least two types of resource on which to develop the supply of recreational and/or touristic activities: trails and food (including drinks). Compared to other agricultural milieux, terraces offer a network of paths, trails, steps and stairs, climbing and winding among the fields and offering panoramic views; originally built to facilitate working the land and maintain dry-stone walls, they are nowadays frequently (or potentially) used by hikers and cyclists. Moreover, the products of terraced agriculture may attract culinary tourists, as food is increasingly becoming a driver for tourism growth (Cohen & Avieli, 2004; Mak et al., 2012).

These material features are closely related to their aesthetic and cultural values. These semi-natural rural landscapes offer to tourists spectacular views as well as cultural stimuli, ranging from traditional agricultural practices to religious and spiritual values attached to the environment of the terraces, often part of the world's cultural and intangible heritage (Bouchenaki, 2003).

Finally, concerning both material and immaterial resources, an experiential value may be attributed to terraced landscapes: distinct from other values, as it is mainly non-visual and refers to the physical structure of the terraces, the corporeal presence of human bodies in the landscape, subjective perceptions and emotions of the people involved (Quan & Wang, 2004). For example, whether "authentic" or not, rural hospitality, local accommodation and cuisine, have the potential to add values to the mere act of sleeping and eating; similarly, participating in the maintenance and process of building dry-stone walls or in harvesting activities is considered to be a fascinating, team-building and even mentally healing practice (Paterson, 2015).

In order to deepen the analysis of the interrelation between tourism and terraced landscapes, it is possible to apply two "*dimensions of uncertainty*" (Antrop & Van Eetvelde, 2017, 414): the level of exploitation of these resources (landscape resource consumption) and the consequences due to the presence of tourism. The first one is related to the type of tourism and specifically to the level of exploitation and consumption of landscape resources caused by tourism *within* the terraces (soil compression, incongruous construction, environmental/ ecological deterioration, water depletion, visual pollution, etc.). The second variable is linked to the capacity of the actors in the system (local or global actors) to acknowledge and face the long series





**Figure 1: Types of interrelations between resource consumption and tourism consequences.**

of interrelationships between terraced landscapes and tourism, identifying assets and defaults, and evaluating consequences in terms of risks, i.e. exodus, abandonment, gentrification, museumification/ banalization or opportunities (promotion of agriculture and craftsmanship, local economy development, community participation, local entrepreneurship, increased ecosystem conservation, etc).

Crossing resource consumption and tourism consequences, it is possible to recognize four main combinations which may turn positive or negative, for the survival of terraced landscapes, resulting in eight different situations. Our conceptual framework (Figure 1) does not follow Antrop's & Van Eetvelde's scheme, but aims to combine what the landscape may offer to tourism and how tourism may rely on or gain from the landscape, more generally.

Under the circumstances currently prevailing in the Mediterranean region, where tourism activities are mainly located along the coastline (besides the main urban

destinations), the level of direct tourist consumption of terraced landscape resources is generally low, oftentimes leading to terrace abandonment or simple juxtaposition (symbiosis) of functions, especially when terraces are considered only as scenery, a detached background to tourists' activities (lower left part of the diagram).

Where local (and global) actors are cognizant of tourism-terraces interrelationships and tourism exploitation of terraced landscape resources remains low, there are hardly any negative impacts to the landscape, allowing for synergies between agriculture and tourism, landscape multi-functionality and the sustenance of terraced landscapes by tourism revenues. Less conscious appreciation and understanding of tourism consequences on the terraced landscapes runs the risk of a more superficial exploitation of the interrelationships tourism-landscape and higher standardization and museumification of the landscape, mainly for purposes of tourism consumption (upper left part of the diagram).

Uncontrolled *over-exploitation* of landscape resources driven by tourism causes impacts, such as overuse of natural resources (soil compression, atmospheric pollution, beach deterioration) or over-exploitation of cultural resources (visual clutter, monument destruction, noise pollution, etc.) and urban sprawl, which takes up high quality farmland and breaks up the landscape. If these trends are coupled with a realization of the high potential for economic gain from such forms of tourism, phenomena of high profiteering and intense tourism exploitation tend to ensue. Positive effects may, nonetheless, result in landscape exploitation, but only on the basis of a concerted, comprehensive strategy encompassing and managing both negative and positive consequences of tourism. If only positive impacts are taken into consideration, this may lead to a type of risk called “the golden goose effect”, whereby tourism is perceived as a magical source only of benefits for the landscape, whereas the reality lies in its over-exploitation, ending up in destroying the landscape resources which it once relied on (upper right part of the diagram).

Finally, there can be some situations in which the consequences of tourism are not fully explored, including both profiteering and various negative consequences to tourism development and terrace sustenance. The more positive aspect here represents limiting revenues to the short-term and exposing landscape to the risk of further degradation. This final part of the diagram (lower right) also represents the combination of the most all-around adverse consequences in the interrelationship tourism-terraced landscape: both the short-sighted opportunism of the supply side, which fails even to take advantage of most possibilities offered by tourism (under-rating the economic profit of such tourism), in tandem with the most adverse impacts on the local landscape, environment and culture.

This conceptual framework of standard situations may be useful to place specific cases and evaluate their possible future evolutions, as well as to identify some common trajectories.

#### RESEARCH DESIGN: THE SCENARIO APPROACH

In order to advance research towards full realization of the potential for further, mild, and participatory tourism development on the basis of sustainable, multifunctional, integrated and democratic terraced landscape stewardship, we turn to the scenario approach. The objective of this approach is simply the formulation of plausible future storylines. According to Makhzoumi (2017, 230-1), “the starting premise for scenario thinking is that several factors may combine in complex ways to create unexpected futures, which is the point of departure in scenario planning”. Scenario planning represents the development of a

framework for devising flexible, long-term development plans, especially applicable to facing the challenge of landscape change, recognizing the “*futility of linear, single-track analysis, opting instead for an integrative broad and dynamic outlook that considers a range of influences*” (Makhzoumi, 2017, 230). Different scenario approaches exist (Alcamo & Ribeiro, 2001), a common feature being their forward-looking approach.

Commonly, scenarios are developed to suggest or describe future situations, to help landscape strategists and planners to envision and visualize alternative futures for change (Van den Berg & Veeneklass, 1995; Wollenberg et al., 2000; Tress & Tress, 2003). Van den Berg & Veeneklass define scenarios as “*a description of the current situation, of a possible or desirable future state as well as a series of events that could lead from the current state of affairs to this future state*” (Tress & Tress, 2003, 162). Thus, two pitfalls are avoided: a) the precarious practice of future forecasting and b) conventional, ‘top-heavy’ statistical projections (Makhzoumi, 2017, 231). Making future scenarios would contribute to developing a positive approach to change by focusing where we want to go instead of what we are losing. This would emphasize the ‘process of landscape’ rather than ‘the product of landscape’ (Jørgensen et al., 2015, 53).

In our study, we aim towards scenario construction for two case studies, based on the assessments and opinions of relevant stakeholders, in order to gain more in-depth understanding of their situation and discuss challenges more comprehensively and effectively. The stakeholders do not evaluate pre-conceived scenarios but participate in and contribute to their construction, as a first step in a bottom-up participatory process. This article, then, does not proceed to scenario visualization or testing the resulting scenarios for any planning processes; it only addresses relevant scenario construction, on the basis of our two selected key variables: landscape resources and tourism-related consequences.

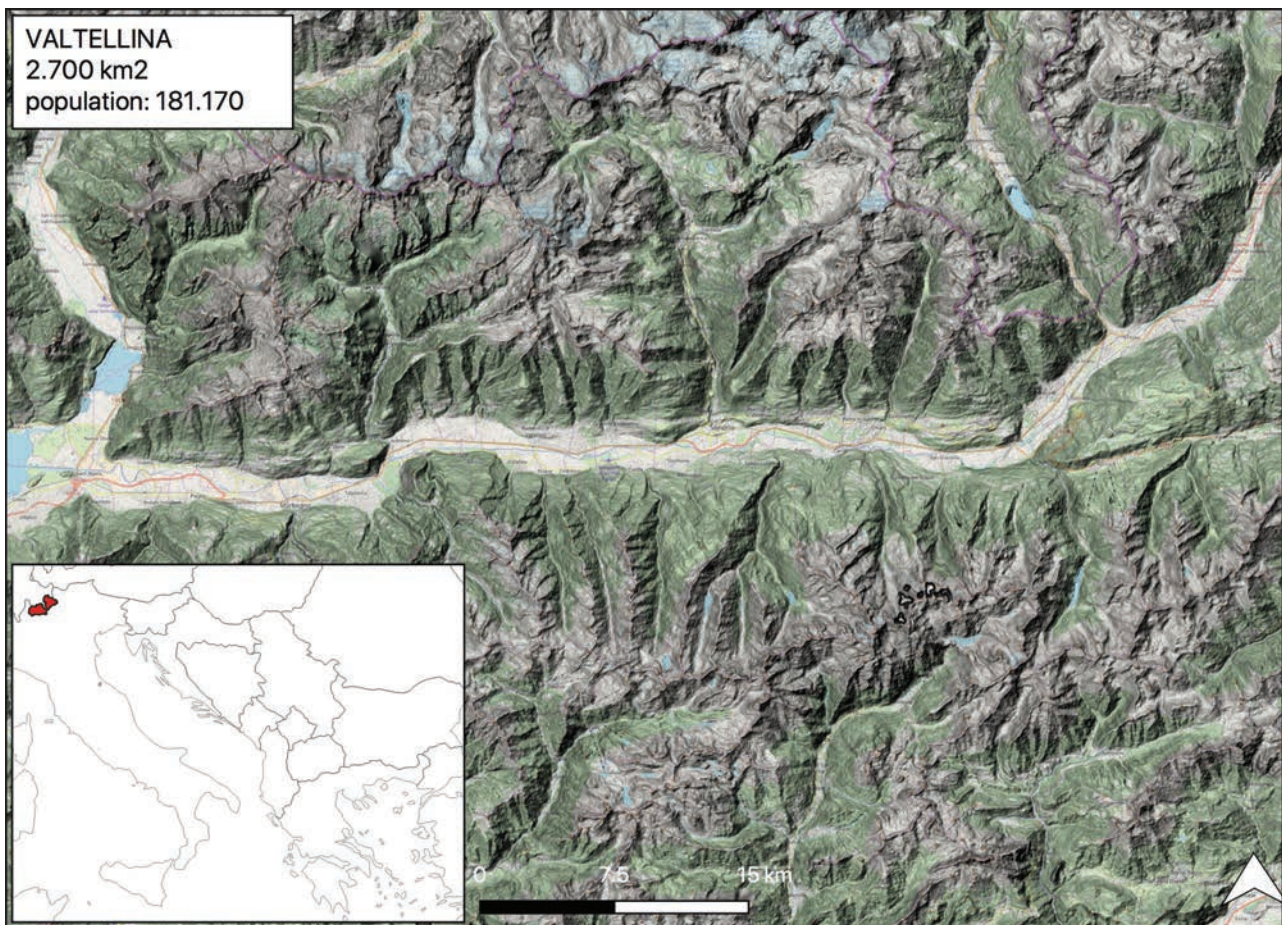
On this basis, we conducted a comparative analysis of two case studies in Italy and Greece (Valtellina and Lesvos), employing in-depth interviews with key relevant stakeholder categories, such as farmers, tourism entrepreneurs, local authorities etc. The goal of this methodological approach was to collect information and opinions/assessments on current and anticipated future landscape-tourism interrelationships in terraced landscape contexts.

The semi-structured interview questionnaire (Table 1) was constructed on the basis of a bibliographical review of scenarios pertaining to other case studies, with an emphasis on two variables: a) terraced landscape assets and resources, and b) tourism consequences and challenges, as well as the schematic model of their interrelationships (question 13). The

Table 1: Questionnaire structure.

General questions																																																																														
1	How would you describe the landscape(s) of this area?																																																																													
2	What values do these terraced landscapes carry, according to your opinion and to the position of your organization/union?																																																																													
3	What are their main products and the main services they perform?																																																																													
4	What type(s) of tourism is/are associated with terraced landscapes in your area/island?																																																																													
5	What is your role in landscape stewardship and transformation?																																																																													
6	What are other landscape-related activities, besides tourism, in the area?																																																																													
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7	<p>Please, rate the following landscape characteristics of the landscape of your area:</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>Degraded</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>high quality</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Abandoned</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>over-exploited</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Natural</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>anthropic</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Modern</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>traditional</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Rural</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>urban</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Polluted</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>uncontaminated</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Isolated</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>connected</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Productive</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>unproductive</td> </tr> <tr> <td>mono-functional</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>multi-functional</td> </tr> <tr> <td>attractive to tourists</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>unattractive to tourists</td> </tr> <tr> <td>other (explain)</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>other (explain)</td> </tr> </table>	Degraded	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	high quality	Abandoned	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	over-exploited	Natural	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	anthropic	Modern	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	traditional	Rural	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	urban	Polluted	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	uncontaminated	Isolated	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	connected	Productive	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	unproductive	mono-functional	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	multi-functional	attractive to tourists	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	unattractive to tourists	other (explain)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	other (explain)
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8	<p>Please, rate the following tourism characteristics in the terraced landscapes of your area:</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>Mass</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>mild</td> </tr> <tr> <td>conventional (3Ss)</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>alternative (agrotourism, ecotourism, other)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Local</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>foreign</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Detached</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>involved</td> </tr> <tr> <td>locally managed</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>globally managed</td> </tr> <tr> <td>other (explain)</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>other (explain)</td> </tr> </table>	Mass	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	mild	conventional (3Ss)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	alternative (agrotourism, ecotourism, other)	Local	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	foreign	Detached	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	involved	locally managed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	globally managed	other (explain)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	other (explain)																																			
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9	According to your opinion and experience, which are the consequences of tourism in these sectors of the local socio-economic system: i) local economy; ii) society and culture; iii) spatial (land) management and planning																																																																													
10	Which landscape characteristics affect tourism and how?																																																																													
11	What are the strong/weak points of these landscapes, as concerns desirable future tourism development?																																																																													
12	What opportunities/threats do you see in such desirable future tourism development?																																																																													
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13	<p>Is there a future for tourism in these terraced landscape areas, and which/how? Please, provide your opinion about future scenarios of tourism in the terraced landscapes of your area, using the diagram below (today, in 10 years, in 25 years).</p> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p><b>TODAY/IN 10 YEARS/ IN 25 YEARS</b></p> </div>																																																																													
14	Which practices would be ideal and you would like to see developed and implemented for these particular landscapes?																																																																													
15	Is there anything else you would like to add?																																																																													





**Figure 2:** *The western and central sections of Valtellina.*

empirical part of the study ends with a compound analysis of all of the stakeholders' opinions and assessments on tourism assets, landscape resources, as well as problems and challenges facing these two destinations, leading to the construction of future scenarios for the specific case studies. We close with a comparative assessment of these scenarios between our two case-studies.

Finally, the rationale we employed in our stakeholder selection was a combination of a) their direct involvement or intervention in local terraced landscape transformation and b) their high position in their organization, association or company, enabling to them to offer opinions and assessments either more generally (and not just their individual views), or as broadly representative of such organizations etc. (key informants). The stakeholder categories selected, in both case studies, were: 1) farmers (or farmer cooperatives/associations), 2) tourism industry (entrepreneurs' unions, associations), 3) local public administration/government (municipalities, provinces, prefectures, etc.) and, finally, 4) NGOs, or other local non-profit local associations/ institutions.

## EMPIRICAL STUDY: THE CASES OF VALTELLINA AND LESVOS

### **Valtellina: sustainability through cooperation and training**

Valtellina is a portion of the upper valley of the river Adda, north of the Lake of Como, in Lombardy (Northern Italy). It is about 120 km in length and entirely encompassed in the Province of Sondrio, at the border with Switzerland. This long alpine valley runs from west to east, offering a variety of landscapes ranging from the lake's shoreline to the peaks of Mount Bernina (higher than 4.000msl). Its western and central sections (Figure 5), especially on the right bank of the river opposed to South, are characterized by the historic presence of terraced slopes, mainly planted to vine and formed with dry-stone walls. This landscape is the result of a collective work started around 1000 CE in relation with the exportation of wine to Switzerland (Canton of the Grisons) and developed thanks to a particular land lease system, which allowed to rent unproductive land for a symbolic fee. Therefore, mountain hardship became an opportu-

nity (Alberti & Mattiuzzo, 2016). From 6500 ha of maximum extension during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the terraced surface dropped to around 900 ha nowadays (Bonardi & Varotto, 2017, 59–60). Today vine is the dominant cultivation, while in the past, it was also buckwheat, chestnuts and other minor cultures.

A total of 6 interviews were conducted, in May and June 2018, with key stakeholders representing the Province of Sondrio, the cultural association SEV (*Società Economica Valtellinese*) and Fojanini Foundation, the Middle Valtellina Tourist Consortium – Upper Terziere (*Consorzio Turistico Media Valtellina – Terziere Superiore*), the association of ethical tourism AltRaValtellina, the Valtellina Cultural District (Distretto Culturale della Valtellina) and, finally, the ProVinea Foundation.

### Resources, values and types of tourism

According to the interviewees, Valtellina is a multifaceted valley, where wilderness meets highly anthropic landscapes, with a strong cultural and historic built heritage. The “*variety of landscapes*” is a common hint in their answers, except for ProVinea, where the emphasis is posed exclusively on the vine-terraces as the main feature characterizing the area. Landscape is unanimously considered as a resource for the agri-food sector of the economy, as well as for the tourism sector. Some stakeholders (Cultural District), highlight hydrogeological stability as an important service, while others (AltRaValtellina) list mobility (the railway and the main road that crosses the valley), among the main landscape-related services. The Valtellina landscape carries strong environmental, cultural and traditional values for all the stakeholders, while economic values are clearly recognized only by the Cultural District the Province and AltRaValtellina (connecting the value of the presence of water to the development of the economy). Aesthetic value is cited only by ProVinea, though directly connected to the environmental and traditional ones. This valley is in-between two mass tourism destinations: the Lake of Como and the ski district of Bormio and Livigno in the upper valley, but, within the terraced altitudinal zone (below 800msl), the presence of an emerging different type of tourism is recognized. Although the area is perceived by the stakeholders to be rich in cultural and heritage attractions (suitable for cultural tourism), they acknowledge that the main driver for tourism here are the outdoor/recreational opportunities (primarily cyclo-tourism) and, secondarily, the wine-food related attractions (canteens, restaurants and festivals). Tourism on the Valtellina terraces is generally viewed as mild and sustainable, although the definition of what is sustainable varies among the stakeholders and is not always coherent.

### Consequences of tourism

All the stakeholders recognize tourism as a source of positive consequences, such as income generation and in-

tegration of farmers and job creation. Two out of them (the Province and SEV) also highlight some negative impacts, such as the low economic profits of second-home tourism and the reduction of interest in other economic activities (e.g. agro-forestry), which are fundamental for the maintenance of landscape diversity, on which tourism is partially based. From a social and cultural point of view, tourism is seen as a positive factor of encounter between cultures and of rediscovery (community awareness) of local heritage and landscape, even though some actors report signs of commodification (such as “tourists’ pizzerie”) and conflicts among areas included and those excluded from the tourism business. Finally, regarding land management, in the last decades, tourism has driven the development of second homes without specific controls, applying pressures on the landscape, especially in the upper section of the valley and creating mobility issues along the entire stretch.

### Strengths/weaknesses – opportunities/risks

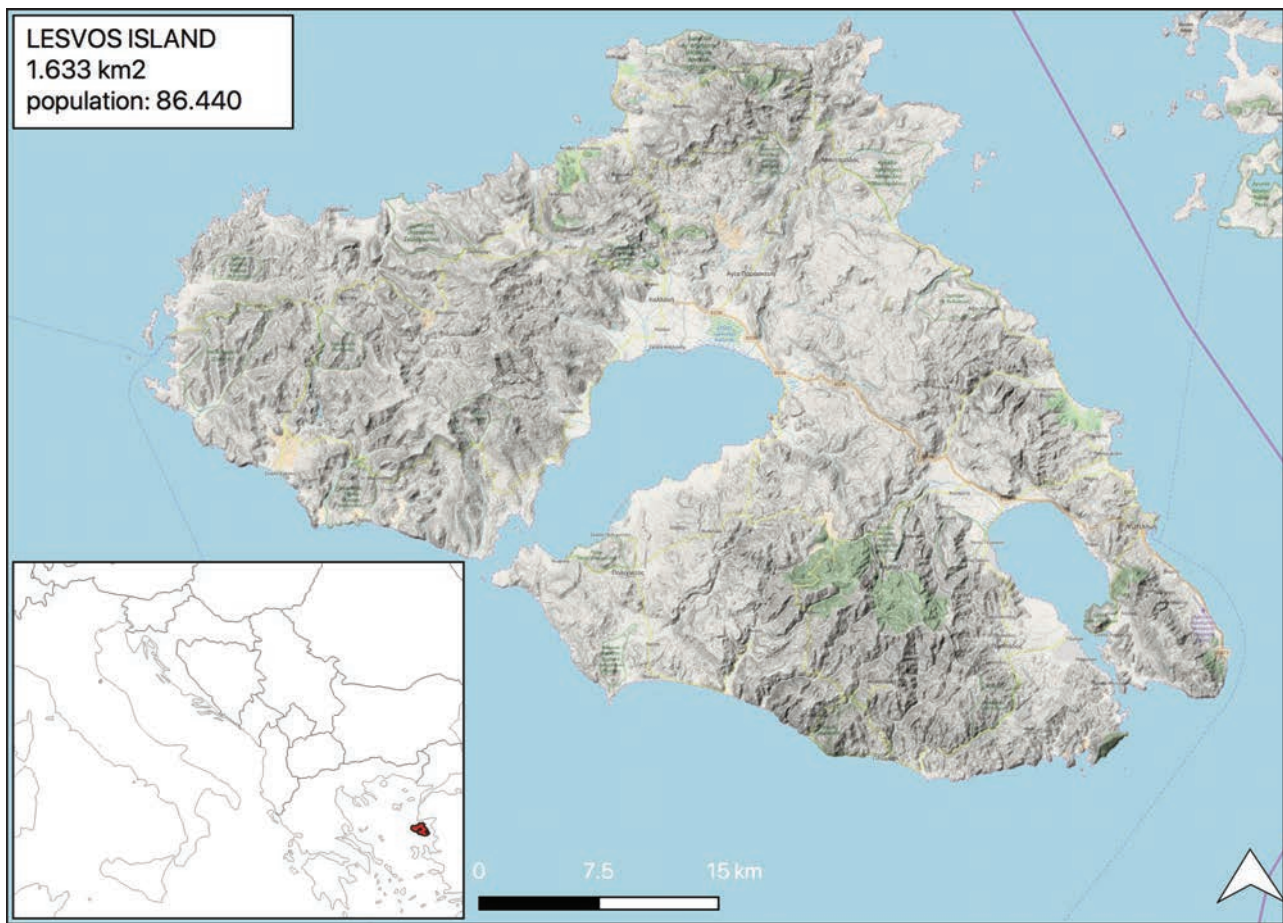
Answers to the question regarding the strengths of the territory are quite varied: some stakeholders (Distretto Culturale and AltRaValtellina) emphasize the quality of the wine and of the terraces, from a cultural but also an economic point of view; others (SEV, Fojanini Foundation and the Tourist Consortium) consider nature and wilderness as a strength of the area. A different answer is given by ProVinea, explicitly considering the history of the valley, the aesthetic value of the terraces and the “people” as a strength. On the other hand, there is more uniformity in the acknowledgment of weaknesses, as concerns the cost of terrace maintenance, and their consequent abandonment due also to the generational change.

Sustainable, ethical agro- and eco-tourism are considered as an opportunity from the tourist-side stakeholders (both AltRaValtellina and the Tourist Consortium) and from the Province, SEV and Fojanini Foundation. Some of the stakeholders also focus on the agricultural side of the issue, considering training courses on building and maintenance techniques (AltRaValtellina and ProVinea) and the new UNESCO application “Art of dry stone, knowledge and techniques” developed by Cyprus, Croatia, Spain, France, Greece, Italy, Slovenia and Switzerland (Distretto Culturale and Province) as opportunities for the future of terraced landscapes in Valtellina. For the majority of stakeholders, threats stem from the standardization and banalization of material and immaterial heritage, due to uncontrolled tourism growth and un-managed agriculture. Finally, mobility is another issue related to tourism, considered as a risk for the quality of life in the valley.

### Scenarios

The connection between types of tourism and state of the terraces has been a rather difficult combination for all the stakeholders interviewed to conceptualize, especially in envisioning future evolution. Nevertheless, there seems





**Figure 3: The Island of Lesvos.**

to be a common feeling regarding the development of tourism in terraced landscapes. Abandoned terraces do not host any type of tourism and, according to the interviewees, there is no chance for their tourist use even in the future. Today, mainly recreational alternative tourism (trekking and cycling), concerns productive terraces, thanks to the presence of thematic routes (“Via dei Terrazzamenti” and “Strada del Vino”) and of dedicated sport events (“Valtellina Wine Trail”), strongly related to the terraced vineyards appeal. This kind of tourism is considered to be in expansion, along with a softer version of a more conventional type of tourism, driving towards a possible recovery of declining terraces. Mass tourism is not foreseen as a probable future for terraced areas, because tourism in these particular landscapes is considered to be inherently “soft” and “of quality”.

Key factors in the definition of a desirable future for terraced landscape in Valtellina seem to be: a) the maintenance of dry-stone walls (through national, communitarian and also private funds) and the conservation of local techniques and savoir faire (through training courses for young people and the valorization of this intangible heritage); b) landscape-minded winery stewardship, in concertation

between local players; and c) a clearer definition and management of sustainable tourism, in order to ensure beneficial effects and reinvestment of tourism revenues in the local socio-economic system. A special mention finally goes to the attention towards women’s empowerment which, especially according to ProVinea, could be a lever to support the combination of agricultural and tourism activities with landscape stewardship.

#### **Lesvos: underrated and under-exploited tourism resources and potential**

Located in the NE Aegean Sea, Lesvos is the 3rd biggest island in the Aegean (1,632 km<sup>2</sup>, 320 km of coastline). The local economy is based on agriculture, while a large proportion of the population also deals in trade, public administration, and tourism services.

Lesvos features a ‘typically Mediterranean’ climate, a variety of geological/ geomorphological units (including the ‘Petrified Forest’), climatic conditions and landscapes of semi-natural forests, scrubland and agricultural land. The island’s bedrock is dominated by volcanic rocks and crystalline schists and is rather hilly (slopes > 18 % are



dominant, covering 63 % of the island). The island's vegetation, although significantly altered by human activity, is composed of classical Mediterranean units.

The most important agricultural land uses of Lesvos consist of olive plantations and grazing lands for sheep (Kizos & Koulouri, 2006). Land cover/use changes have been mostly due to human activities and interventions in the urban, agricultural and natural environment, manifesting in various ways, such as through the rapid expansion of settlements at the expense of the fertile cultivated land, the development of transportation infrastructures, fires, degradation of the vegetative cover and deforestation, the penetration of cultivations into natural vegetation zones, land abandonment, overgrazing, and the appearance of serious erosion phenomena, leading to desertification. The slow but stable shift to tourism-related activities and consequent spread of infrastructure has important implications for the economy, in turn leading to increased urbanization, in complicated coexistence with agriculture (Marathanou et al., 1999).

Tourism on Lesvos is mostly run by small family businesses and small hotels; there is an attachment to the 3Ss (sea, sand, sun) model of mass tourism (Spilanis, 2016). Despite its variety of natural and cultural resources, Lesvos is characterized by limited, seasonal tourism activity of low income, insufficient infrastructure, and poor quality of services—now further exacerbated through the staggering refugee 'crisis'. Tourism and agricultural development both suffer from a lack of comprehensive action strategy and an integrated approach to agricultural policy, land planning and tourism development, marketing of agricultural products, cultural and environmental conservation and management, etc. (Pavlis, 2017).

Though difficult to date, terraces on Lesvos have been documented since the Neolithic times, having once covered the whole extent of the island (Makis Axiotis, personal communication, June 21<sup>st</sup> 2018). Others talk about many million terraces on Lesvos (Zagorissiou & Giannoulellis, 1995, 218), some exhibiting intriguing forms and patterns, some stemming from the famous ancient "Lesbian stonemasonry". According to Axiotis, all in all, terraces ('σέτια' in the local dialect) represent a historically uninterrupted practice; in some cases they weave almost as if out of the rock, making it difficult to discern where the bedrock stops and the terrace begins. In the antiquities, it seems that they served mostly construction support purposes, whereas today they serve mostly agricultural purposes and almost exclusively olive-tree cultivation (Makis Axiotis, personal communication, June 21<sup>st</sup> 2018).

Terraces are found in almost all land uses and landscape zones (80% in the western part of the island, 92% in the eastern part and 86% in the intermediate part), especially in olive plantations and grazing lands, in the eastern part of the island. Agriculture is still quite important in terms of the jobs and incomes it provides, especially in rural areas. The olive plantations constitute, in their greatest part, a homogenous landscape, very characteristic of

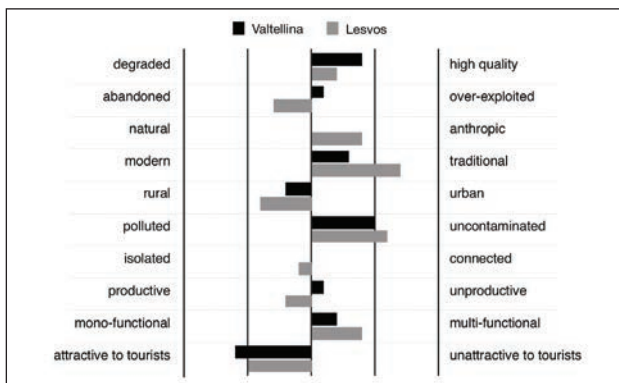
Lesvos and part of its local identity, with most trees lying on small, hilly or mountainous and sloping fields.

A total of 8 interviews were conducted, in June 2018, with key stakeholders representing farmers' associations in Skalochori (Συμβούλιο Σκαλοχωρίου) and Anemotia (Αγροτικός Σύλλογος Ανεμώτιας); the tourism office of the Prefecture of Northern Aegean (Περιφέρεια Β. Αιγαίου), Tourist Agents of Lesvos and Board of Directors of HATTA (Τουριστικοί Πράκτορες Λέσβου και Διοικητικό Συμβούλιο του HATTA); the Municipality of Eressos-Antissa (Δήμος Ερεσσού-Αντισσας) and the Municipality of Kalloni (Δήμος Καλλονής); as well as local NGOs, such as the social cooperative company MODOUSA (ΜΟΔΟΥΣΑ), the Center of Letters of Kalloni (Πνευματικό Κέντρο Καλλονής), the Green Party of Lesvos ('Πράσινοι' Λέσβου) and the Photographic Club of Mytiline (Φωτογραφική Λέσχη Μυτιλήνης). Parts of these interviews will be quoted in the paragraphs below (due to the protection of interviewers rights, their personal information will not be provided).

### Resources, values and types of tourism

Though most of the interviewees considered the terraces of Lesvos to be an indispensable part of the economy and culture of the island and most emphasized their ecological and agricultural functions (soil retention, water containment, sustenance of cultivables and wild flora and fauna), most did not address the full array of resources and services provided by terraced landscapes. The only exception was the MODOUSA representative, who also delved into the mythological, spiritual and aesthetic provisions of these landscapes. The responses we received ranged from the most positive to the most negative. For instance, care and consideration for the terraces of Lesvos was considered paramount, since they are mostly in a good state (by the Greens informant), vs. a former mayor declaring that no one cares about them, since they are viewed as abandoned landscapes. Olive oil, olives, orchard crops and some wine were the most listed products of the terraces, whereas the services they were accounted to perform were overwhelmingly ecological and agricultural, with one scant reference also to recreation (by the Greens informant).

As regards tourism on the terraces, two respondents basically reported none (a farmers' association representative and a former mayor of one of the terraced villages). The possibilities for agrotourism, ecotourism and various other thematic types of tourism in the terraced landscapes of Lesvos (i.e. birdwatching, religious tourism and pilgrimages) were highly appraised, though hardly so far explored—with the exception of one or two tentative recent initiatives. The Greens informant (also representative of the Photographic Club of Mytiline) viewed very positively the possibilities of conventional (3Ss) tourists being attracted by the terraced landscapes of the island. The tourist agencies' representative, however, put the prospects of terraced landscape tourism on the island in a more well-rounded and realistic outlook: "*possibly*

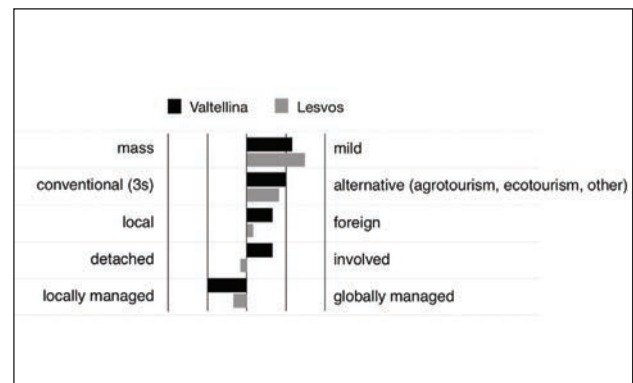


**Figure 4: Synthesis of landscape characteristics according to interviewees (question 7), compared average values.**

agrotourism, but the agrotouristic enterprises developed so far are anything but [...]. There could be real agrotourism products and services here, but people do not have visions for the future and are all focused on fast, short-term gain". No other activities, besides tourism, some terrace construction and restoration, and primary sector economic activities (including a bit of timbering and rudimentary processing of rural products), were reported on the terraces.

### Consequences of tourism

As no types of thematic tourism have yet essentially been developed on the island, including the exploitation of existing networks of walking trails, tourism has had very small consequences for Lesvos and minimal ones for its capital city of Mytiline (a former mayor). Generally speaking, tourism acts complementarily to the other income-raising activities for the local population, although, in some cases, it represents the only income. Some of our respondents, however, also cautioned against the possibility of mass tourism growth, which, according to another former mayor, adversely affects the economy and society. Mass tourism, however, is not foreseen as a realistic possibility for the terraces of Lesvos, while the whole outlook for future consequences of tourism growth is, again, succinctly put by the Greens informant: "Obviously, tourism contributes economic revenue to the local society, either directly or indirectly, by creating employment; luckily, it has never become 'mass' on Lesvos, so there have been no negative impacts on the landscape. Tourists' presence on the island has made locals more open-minded, but not enough so. Since it represents 'easy money', it becomes negative to some people's social image and personal cultivation. Our culture has not been affected much, as tourism is low-intensity on the island—similarly, tourism pressures on land use have been small". Accordingly, as regards its impact on spatial planning and land uses, "the story here is very sad, there is nothing: there ought to be planned urban growth, taking in mind best practices from elsewhere" (the



**Figure 5: Synthesis of tourism characteristics according to interviewees (question 8), compared average values.**

tourist agent's representative); the development of a better road network and the banning of grazing were quoted as necessary steps in that direction.

### Strengths/weaknesses – opportunities/risks

All landscape features may potentially affect tourism, according to the Prefecture tourism representative; furthermore, most of these landscapes are visible and accessible from the road systems of the island, which is both their strong and weak point. A long series of strong points for terraced landscape tourism development were laid out by almost all of our respondents, except for one negative perspective stating that Lesvos terraced landscapes may not attract tourism, due to their largely abandoned or destroyed state: "beaches and secondarily trails may only constitute poles of tourist attraction" (former mayor of a terraced region). Both natural and human-made or perceived aspects of these landscapes were offered as their strengths, revolving around landscape diversity, aesthetic harmony, stunning geomorphology, environmental quality, local products, culture and tradition, and biodiversity/ uniqueness. The MODUSA representative succinctly summarized these landscapes' weaknesses in inducing tourism growth: terrace deterioration and restoration problems, diminution of agricultural practices and production, olive-oil trade impediments, out-of-plan construction, aesthetic pollution, littering, lack of landscape management and controls, poor landscape marketing and branding.

The tourist agents' representative described the current state-of-affairs as follows: "*the visitors who come here do so consciously: the landscape itself affects tourism, it attracts tourists accordingly*". A mayor and farmer's union representative viewed these landscapes as 'virgin places', pure and unadulterated, traditional, while a former mayor stated that the Lesvos terraces create an absolutely unique landscape architecture, the olive-grove landscape of Lesvos. Finally, concerning opportunities and threats, a former mayor declared "*We can do it, but we need financial support for mild tourism development (i.e. 200.000 EURO*

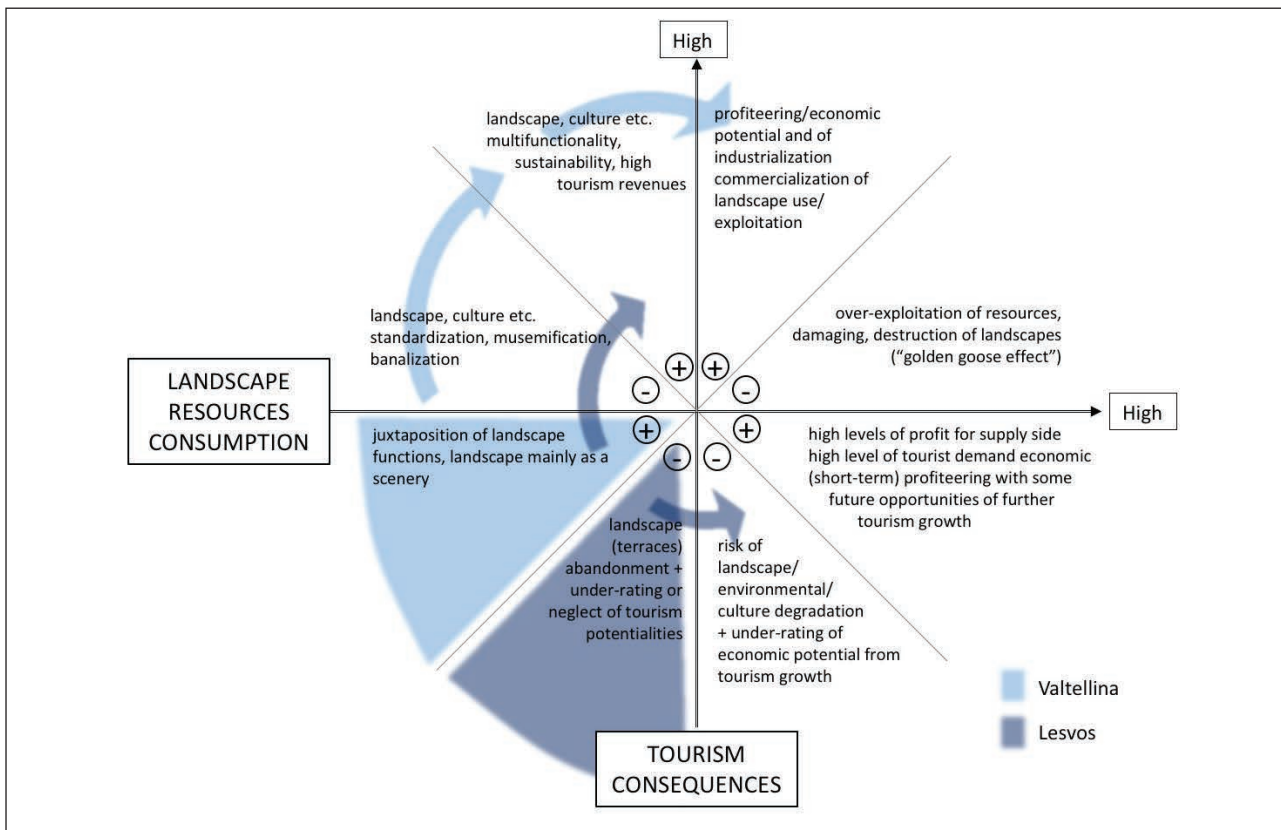


Figure 6: Possible scenarios in Valtellina and Lesvos.

would be sufficient for 1.000 hectares)". Generally speaking, our informants claimed that, under circumstances of mild, sustainable tourism, they only see positive potential – no dangers or threats. The farmers' cooperative representative was pessimistic about the future, due to the widespread devaluation of local culture and traditions. He reported that whatever initiatives tend to be undertaken are by big companies and business entrepreneurs. However, he believed that, if agrotouristic or other cooperative unions or farmers turned their attention to and tended the terraces, there could be mild tourism uses of them, especially if, besides personal investment and labor, the farmers could receive state financial support to preserve the terraces, as used to occur in the past. Besides dependence on state funds, grants, and fast-track investments, other general threats mentioned were the deep economic crisis, corrupt practices, desertion and abandonment of the rural terraces, intensification of agriculture and out-of-plan construction.

### Scenarios

When all of the above were framed in terms of scenarios linking future tourism growth with terrace conditions, our respondents' attitudes were equally divided (in those cases where we received responses to this part of our question-

naire). Mild and sustainable tourism, with small-scale infrastructure development, was considered possible by the optimists who stated that it could follow a growing curve, i.e. 2000 people could easily be touristically accommodated, in total. The pessimists, on the other hand, saw no future for tourism in these areas. Indicatively, according to the Prefecture tourism representative, if development proceeds in the proper ways in order to avert destruction, only opportunities exist in promoting landscape and the nature of Lesvos, through tourism, no dangers or threats, i.e. there is potential for guided walking routes, demonstrating local agricultural practices. Conversely, according to the tourist agents' representative,

*Lesvos cannot develop touristically too much, like other Greek islands. There are not many accessible beaches, no big hotels are ever going to be built, and the largest part of the island is under NATURA 2000 protection. I must say that the exploitation of the terraces for tourism purposes is a great idea. There could be mild tourism development here, with bungalows interspersed in the landscape, with small swimming pools, small-scale development, tourists seeking calm and quiet, as well as rural images and sounds, but I do not believe it will happen, as people here have no visions for the future.*



## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The methodology adopted for our analysis led to both lights and shadows. On the one hand, the conceptual framework and the scenario approach proved to be useful in considering existing and expected interconnections between tourism and landscape resources. On the other hand, the stakeholders found it difficult to sketch future representations, probably due to at least two orders of reasons, in need of further investigation in future research contexts: a) our decision not to provide a pre-conceived set of different scenarios and b) the way in which we presented the uncharted scenarios framework in the questionnaire.

Moving to the results, the comparison of our two case studies clearly demonstrates that Valtellina and Lesvos stakeholders consider terraced landscapes under different lenses; synthesizing, a functional (but not yet multi-functional) approach seems predominant in Valtellina, with an emphasis on cultural and touristic values, while an ecological and agricultural one seems to be prevalent in Lesvos.

As shown in Figure 4, in both areas, terraced landscapes are considered of quality, even though abandoned in Lesvos, while slightly over-exploited in Valtellina. Compared to the urbanization of the valley bottom and of the surrounding areas, the Valtellina terraced and forested slopes appear more natural, therefore the average value between the adjectives *natural* and *anthropic* is neutral; while in Lesvos human intervention on the landscape is more recognized. Both landscapes are perceived as traditional, rural and uncontaminated (with more accentuated values in Lesvos), confirming the strong connection of terraced landscape with traditional pre-industrial agriculture and their attractiveness to tourists (which is more emphasized in Valtellina). The perception of isolation in Lesvos is greater than in Valtellina, although not significantly so. Interestingly, Lesvos landscapes are perceived to be more productive and multi-functional than the Valtellina ones, even though in the pair of adjectives “abandoned/over-exploited” the average answers were opposite.

Despite disparities in the volume and in the development of the tourism industry in the respective terraced landscapes, the perception of the tourism characteristics is similar, in both case studies (Figure 5). Tourism is considered to be mild and alternative, mainly foreign but locally managed, especially in Valtellina. The only divergent values regard the type of tourist experience, which tends to be more involved in Valtellina, possibly due to the various immersive activities offered to tourists (cycling, hiking, wine-tasting, etc.).

In both cases, there is a common conviction that the “landscape itself attracts tourists accordingly”, as stated by one Lesvos informant, therefore tourism in terraced landscape is automatically considered sustainable and soft, with only few interviewees recognizing threats in banalization, pollution or terrace deterioration due to tourism increase.

Building scenarios of possible interrelations between tourism development and the condition of the terraces has proven to be a rather difficult task and, when feasible, it seems to rely on three factors: a) availability of public funds for maintenance and tourism services (e.g. walking routes), b) long-term strategies and cooperation between local agriculture and tourism stakeholders and, finally, c) a recognition of the farmers’ socio-cultural role in terrace preservation, (i.e. perhaps through the diffusion of training courses dedicated to the construction and the maintenance of dry-stone walls.

According to the analysis of the case studies here presented, we may conclude that, in these terraced landscapes, there is neither risk of high landscape resources consumption leading to the destruction of the landscapes on which tourism depends (“golden goose effect”), nor, however, the possibility of high levels of tourism demand and profits for the supply side (Figure 6). Valtellina seems geared towards an increased multifunctionality of the landscape, though risking museumisation and commoditisation processes. On the contrary, Lesvos, is currently under-rating tourism consequences and could, alternatively, either worsen its situation or shift toward increased tourism revenues (if turns its attentions toward potentialities offered by its terraced landscapes).

In conclusion, despite the fact that not all assets and resources were equally acknowledged by the key stakeholders of our two case studies, it is obvious that there was a general agreement as to the roles, values and services offered and played out by terraced landscapes, in this part of Southern Europe. The case of Lesvos simply represents such a tourism destination still at the stage of discovery, whereas the case of Valtellina seems to represent a more advanced stage in terraced landscape tourism development: benefits and opportunities seem to be taken advantage of, while threats are barely beginning to materialize. Thus, the latter case could be seen as a further developmental stage in the life-cycle of such a destination; the former case is poised either to follow a similarly successful evolution, or to miss out on such a positive development, due to an under-estimation and neglect of its potentialities (Figure 6). In either case, under clearly and well-defined sustainable and locally-managed tourism initiatives, as both of our case studies illustrate, only all-around gain and benefits are expected to result from mild tourism development in such terraced landscapes, under the condition of safeguarding, protecting or reinstating the long-standing links and complex interweavings between ecological/ environmental wealth, robust rural livelihoods, social well-being, preservation of cultural traditions and heritage and intricate webs of family and community histories, while fulfilling alternative recreational experiences.

ALI IMA TURIZEM V TERASIRANIH POKRAJINAH PRIHODNOST?  
PRIMERJNA ŠTUDIJA POKRAJINSKIH VIROV IN POSLEDIC TURIZMA V DOLINI  
VALTELLINA (ITALIJA) IN NA OTOKU LEZBOS (GRČIJA)

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POVZETEK

Članek obravnava različne vidike odnosa med turizmom in terasiranimi pokrajinami in sicer z osredotočanjem na scenarije, ki se razvijajo iz morebitnih medsebojnih povezav med dvema sestavljenima spremenljivkama: a) rabo pokrajinskih virov in b) posledicami turizma, v dveh študijah primerov: na otoku Lezbos v Grčiji in v dolini Valtellina v Italiji. Primerjalna analiza je bila izvedena s poglobljenimi pogovori z ustreznimi deležniki, na podlagi katerih so bili oblikovani prihodnji scenariji za specifične študije primerov. Članek se zaključuje z razpravo o rezultatih teh dveh sestavljenih scenarijev v obliki zgodb, na podlagi katerih je mogoče predvideti prihodnje spremembe in vzdržnost terasirane pokrajine. V skladu z analizo študij primerov in ocenami prihodnosti turizma v terasiranih pokrajinah, ki so jih opravili anketiranci, ni tveganja za visoko porabo pokrajinskih virov, ki bi vodila v uničevanje terasirane pokrajine, in tudi ni verjetnosti o zelo intenzivnem turističnem povpraševanju oziroma masovnem turizmu na območju terasiranih pokrajin. V obeh primerih se v okviru jasno in natančno opredeljenih trajnostnih in lokalno upravljanjih turističnih pobud pričakuje samo tisti dobiček in tiste koristi, ki so posledica blagega razvoja turizma.

**Ključne besede:** terasirane pokrajine, turizem, prihodnji scenariji, Valtellina, Lezbos

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## AN OUTSTANDING CULTURAL KARST LANDSCAPE: TERRACED LANDSCAPE FEATURES AND STRENGTHENING THE NATURAL AND CULTURAL VALUES OF THE KARST PLATEAU

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### ABSTRACT

*Despite the activities of various civil associations, initiatives, and partnerships, the outstanding cultural landscape of the Karst Plateau is often endangered. In particular, it is threatened by a lack of awareness among its inhabitants and financial pressure, to which local communities react inappropriately considering their communication, spatial planning, and development policies. In addition, the mediation and operation of responsible national institutions are often ineffective. This discussion focuses on the elements of terraced karst landscapes, which differ in their development and characteristics from other terraced landscapes in Slovenia. Their individual and fundamental nature, and the most important features that distinguish such landscapes, are examined in the cadastral municipality of Merče, which is part of the Municipality of Sežana. As a signatory to the European Landscape Convention, Slovenia is committed to its outstanding landscapes, including its terraced karst landscapes, to establish and implement landscape policies aimed at landscape protection, management, and planning through the adoption of specific measures. The first step toward this objective is to raise awareness of its existence; that is, through a precise inventory of this landscape throughout the karst area.*

**Keywords:** terraced landscapes, identity, outstanding landscapes, inventory, Karst Plateau, natural values, cultural values

## PAESAGGIO CULTURALE CARSICO DI ECCEZIONALE VALORE: ELEMENTI DI PAESAGGIO TERRAZZATO E MIGLIORAMENTO DEI VALORI NATURALISTICI E CULTURALI DEL CARSO

### SINTESI

*Nonostante le attività di varie associazioni civili, iniziative e partnership, l'eccezionale paesaggio culturale carsico viene spesso messo in pericolo. In particolare esso è minacciato da una mancanza di consapevolezza tra gli abitanti e dalla pressione del capitale speculativo a cui le comunità locali reagiscono in modo inappropriato sia con la comunicazione che con la pianificazione territoriale e di sviluppo. Inoltre, la mediazione e il funzionamento delle istituzioni statali responsabili è spesso inefficace. Nella discussione ci concentriamo sugli elementi dei paesaggi carsici terrazzati, che differiscono per sviluppo e caratteristiche dagli altri paesaggi terrazzati in Slovenia. La sua natura individuale e fondamentale e le sue caratteristiche più importanti, che ne fanno quello che è, sono verificate nel comune catastale di Merče, che fa parte del comune di Sežana. La Slovenia, firmataria della Convenzione europea sul paesaggio, si impegna a favore dei suoi paesaggi eccezionali, compresi i paesaggi carsici terrazzati, "a stabilire e attuare politiche paesaggistiche volte alla tutela, alla gestione e alla pianificazione del paesaggio attraverso l'adozione di misure specifiche". Il primo passo verso questo obiettivo è quello di aumentare la consapevolezza della sua esistenza, vale a dire un inventario preciso di questo paesaggio in tutta l'area carsica.*

**Parole chiave:** paesaggi terrazzati, identità, paesaggi eccezionali, inventario, Carso, valori naturalistici, valori culturali

## INTRODUCTION: OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF THE KARST CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

The Karst Plateau is a limestone landscape between the Gulf of Trieste to the southwest and the Friulian lowlands to the northwest. Various sources define the boundary of the plateau in terms of gravel, geography, landscape, nature, and other elements. To the north it is bordered by the flysch rock of the Vipava Valley, and to the southeast the plateau merges into the Reka Valley and the flysch Brkini and Istria hills. The Karst Plateau is about 60 km long and between 15 and 20 km wide, and

it reaches an elevation between 200 and 600 m. It covers an area of approx. 850 km<sup>2</sup>, of which approximately 550 km<sup>2</sup> is in Slovenia and the rest in neighboring Italy (Figure 1). Its basic characteristic is that the landscape lacks large and constant surface waters. Precipitation sinks into the limestone terrain and creates a variety of surface and subterranean geomorphological karst features. The Karst Plateau is an important part of the extremely diverse landscape types of Slovenia (Figure 2). This variety and the transitional nature of Slovenia's regions constitute its main geographic characteristic and are important elements of its identity (Ažman Momirski, 2019).

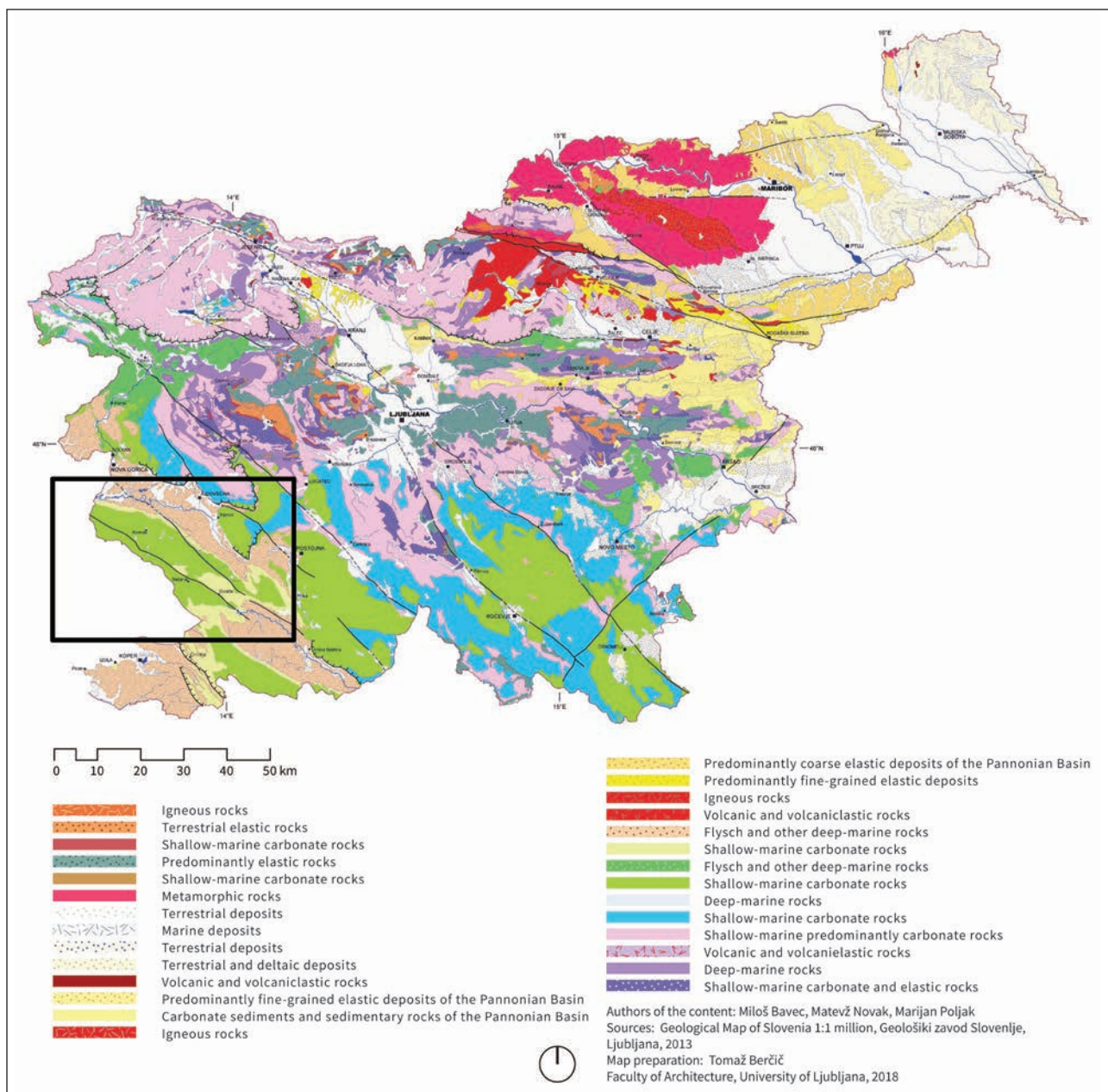


Figure 1: Geological map of Slovenia and the Karst Plateau.



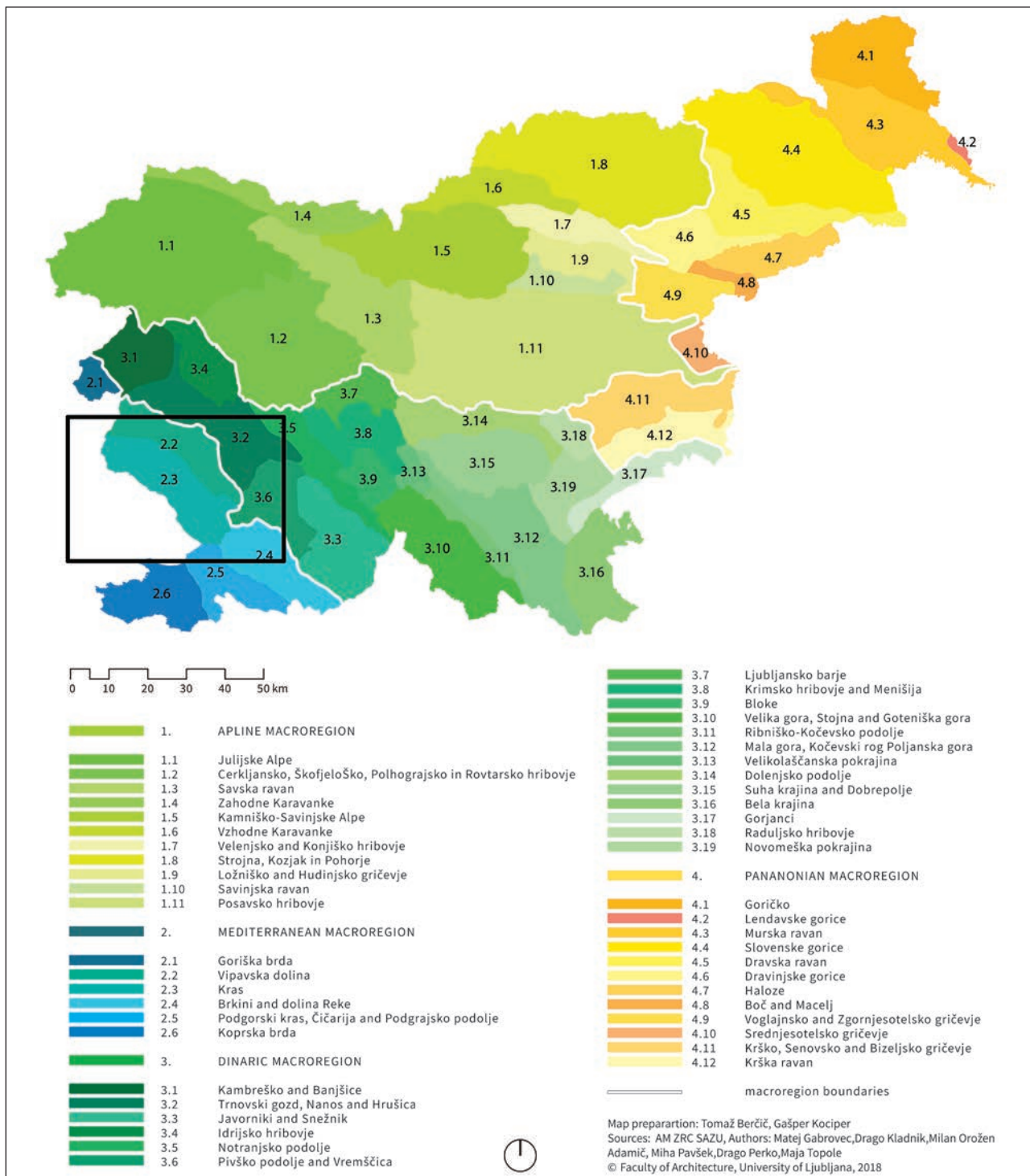


Figure 2: Landscape types of Slovenia and the Karst Plateau.

To date, more than 1,500 cave formations with an average density of two caves per square kilometer and locally as many as forty caves per square kilometer have been discovered in the Karst Plateau area. The longest cave complex is Škocjan Caves and Snake

Cave (*Kačna jama*), which has a length of more than 20 km. The subterranean Reka River, which flows through both cave systems, has formed an extraordinary underground water network under the entire plateau.

The Karst Plateau has unique terrain forms and landscape elements. At the European and global levels, the plateau is best known for its geographical characteristics: it is known for its caves and areas with extremely permeable rock. At the same time, the Karst Plateau—like Tuscany and Provence, for example—has a growing profile as a cultural landscape with a preserved natural and cultural heritage and its own identity. The addition of part of the karst landscape—Škocjan Caves—to the UNESCO World Cultural and Natural Heritage list testifies to the uniqueness and outstanding universal value of this landscape. This occurred in 1986. The wider geographical area, known as the Classical Karst—the karst landscape in a triangle covering the area between the edge of the Ljubljana Marsh, the Gulf of Trieste, and Lake Cerknica—has been on the tentative list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites since 1994. In 2015 Slovenia revised and supplemented its nomination in the natural heritage category (UNESCO Tentative Lists, 2018). The uniqueness of the plateau is specified in national strategic documents. It is emphasized by important national and independent institutions.

In the past, the landscape also played a pioneering role in the naming of karst phenomena: not only with word *karst* (related to Sln. *kras*), which has become an international term, but also with numerous Slavic expressions for karst phenomena sometimes used in international karst terminology: the karst field or *polje* (Sln. *polje*, Germ. *Karstfeld* / *Karstbecken* / *Polje*, Span. *campo kárstico* / *poljé*, French. *bassin karstique* / *poljé*), the sinkhole or *doline* (Sln. *vrtča* / *dolina*, Germ. *Sinkhöhle* / *Doline*, Span. *Torca* / *doline*, French. *effondrement karstique* / *doline*), the solution valley or *uvala* (Sln. *uvala*, Germ. *Karstsenke* / *Uvala*, Span. *depresión karstica* / *uvala*, French *dépression karstique* / *uvala*), and the swallow hole or *ponor* (Sln. *ponor*, Germ. *Karstrichter* / *Ponor*, Span. *Sumidero* / *pónor*, French. *perte* / *ponor*; Gams, 1995; Kranjc, 1994, 1997). Adolf Schmidl (1854) even mentions in his work on the Karst Plateau the typical orographical form of the “terraced karst mountains,” which is also characteristic of Istria and Dalmatia (Kranjc, 1994, 133).

Although the Karst Plateau is threatened by the construction of numerous “satellite settlements,” Slovenia’s National Council characterized the plateau as a particularly valuable landscape (June 16th, 2008) during the conference Preservation of the Karst Landscape as a Development Opportunity for the Karst. An expert survey was conducted to gather information about the current situation on the plateau and to formulate positions and recommendations for the work of the national authorities and municipalities. At that time, the National Council emphasized, among other things, that the plateau as a natural and cultural landscape should be protected both at the national level and in cooperation with the municipalities. Protections are also guaranteed by the Nature Conservation Act and

the European Landscape Convention, which Slovenia is a party to (Conservation of the Karst Landscape as a Development Opportunity of the Karst: A Collection of Contributions and Debates, 2008).

The Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts’ Council for Culture and Spatial Identity of Slovenia, which emphasized in its declaration that the Karst Plateau is an ecologically extremely vulnerable landscape, also reacted (Luthar et al., 2008). Depending on the correct use of the land, it is also up to people whether they can preserve today’s diversity above all in the subsoil, in biodiversity, and in geological and geomorphological heterogeneity. Interestingly, the Forum 21 Society for Political, Economic, Developmental, Social, Cultural, and Ethical Issues also dealt with spatial, nature conservation, economic, and demographic issues of Karst Plateau development. As an independent civil society institution, it supported the idea of reviving the development project of the Karst Regional Park to protect the Karst Plateau and accelerate its addition to the UNESCO list. Under special conditions, the development of economic and other activities and the improvement of living conditions and opportunities for the local population within the park would be made possible.

#### RESEARCH PROBLEM: WHAT THREATENS THE KARST CULTURAL LANDSCAPE AND ITS IDENTITY?

Identity is a contradictory notion: it refers to both the condition of being the same or exactly alike—that is, sameness and oneness (e.g., groups united by identity of interests)—and the condition or fact of being a specific person or thing; that is, individuality. Its meaning is linked to the essence, fundamental nature, or most important quality that makes something what it is (Loeper et al., 2016).

It is important to be aware that most damage and irreversible consequences to nature on the Karst Plateau are caused by man. There is an extraordinary density of surface and subterranean karst phenomena—constituting natural heritage, extraordinary geological heritage, and abiotic, biotic, and scenic diversity of the typical karst landscape. To preserve the natural and manmade values of this area in a rather densely populated cultural landscape (the Municipality of Sežana has 111 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup>), the Karst Plateau must especially be protected against inappropriate spatial changes, against inappropriate use and practices, and against more recent phenomena in which the capital market itself dictates and controls spatial development. Only with an active and development-oriented approach can the plateau also be protected in the long term in line with nature conservation criteria.

The spatial degradation of the Karst Plateau is only one of the problems that have recently been so strongly expressed that they are also perceived by the general public. In recent decades, the greatest damage has been

**Table 1: Comparison of vineyards located on terraces in nine wine districts in Slovenia and their shrinkage data (Sources: for 2007: Škvarč & Kodrič, 2007; for 2011: Mavrič Štrukej et al., 2014; for 2016: RPGV).**

Wine districts	2007 (ha)	2011 (ha)	2016 (ha)	Vineyards on terraces: shrinkage (ha)	Vineyards on terraces: shrinkage (%)
Prekmurje	4	4	2	2	50%
Styria	35	24	21	14	40%
Bizeljsko-Sremič	42	34	27	15	36%
Lower Carniola	27	18	15	12	44%
White Carniola	27	23	20	7	26%
Gorizia Hills	81	80	80	1	1%
Vipava Valley	66	65	59	7	11%
Karst Plateau	14	13	10	4	29%
Slovenian Istria	30	21	20	10	33%

caused by the greed and indifference of investments and by professional self-assertion and ignorance. In recent decades, new housing units, row housing, blocks, towers, and industrial and commercial areas have encroached into areas that used to be agricultural land: meadows, pastures, and also vineyards. Construction activity is strongly linked to degradation in the form of a large number of landfills and excavations, which is usually even more difficult to control and prevent. Dry-stone-walled field paths have suddenly become paved streets in sparsely populated areas with new buildings. Typical housing projects with different backgrounds and adapted to the wishes, tastes, and knowledge (or ignorance) of self-builders have served as a basis for construction. On the other hand, individual architects are becoming increasingly aware of the tendency to create architecture that should be completely freed from traditions and identity features, which in turn leads to the artistic and design degradation of space.

A number of planned satellite settlements around the nuclei of Karst Plateau villages and even in a prestigious location in the immediate vicinity of the Lipica Stud Farm protected area have posed a serious threat to the plateau as a natural and national value and to the cultural identity of the plateau from both a landscape and architectural point of view.

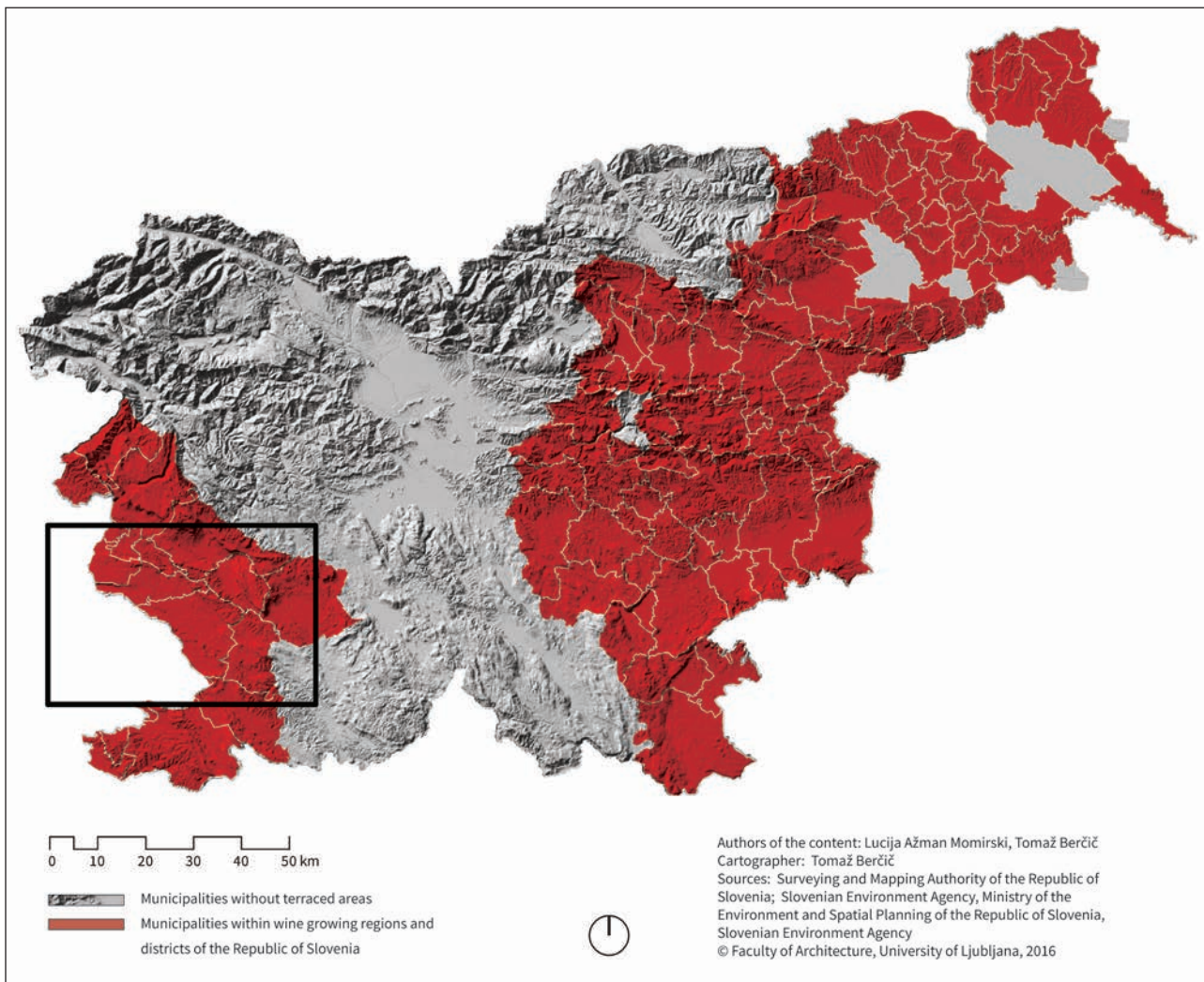
With the opening of the border with Italy, the Slovenian part of the Karst Plateau became even more attractive. Obsolete but still valid spatial planning and implementation laws of the municipalities in the area opened the door for new forms of spatial development and the actual abuse of the area as a territorial capital, which the plateau has with its preserved natural and cultural heritage. For the first time in the history of the plateau (as in Slovenia), the spatial development of rural villages determined the interests of capital and power by developers (these were actually in the role of intermediaries

of bank capital). This type of interest in construction mainly focused on improving capital injections, which was to be represented by new building units in satellite settlements. These are to be offered on the open property market. The planned interventions did not, of course, arise from the well-founded needs of local communities or the local population. On the contrary, the local population was distant from important decisions on the further spatial development of their settlements and the entire plateau. In addition, demographic analyses and other forecasts that the initiator of the changes should prepare did not justify and do not justify the planned interventions (Lah, 2008, 14).

On the Karst Plateau there are four recognized landscape areas, five outstanding landscapes, numerous protected areas, and numerous areas of natural values. The area is an ecologically important area. The most important agricultural activity on the plateau is viticulture (MOP, 2013; Figure 3). Compared to Slovenia's eight other wine-growing districts, in 2016 vineyards on terraces covered only 10 ha of land, which is just over 4% of the terraced vineyards in Slovenia (Table 1). Studies define the karst landscape as unique because of its diversity, its high experience value, and its special features described earlier (Panjek, 2015). In the past, land use was predominantly pasture, and today—like elsewhere in Slovenia—the landscape is increasingly wooded. The landscape is characterized by dry stone enclosures that protect the soil from wind erosion and prevent livestock from escaping, as well as marking borders at the edges of plots, meadows, and fields.

In historical sources, one can find evidence of the desolated karst landscape, where the farmers obtained new land by adapting the terrain to cultivation through clearing stones (Dorsi, 1989) that were later used to build enclosures. The descriptions agree that the karst soil is rocky, with a thin layer of soil and thus with





**Figure 3: Municipalities with terraced vineyards in Slovenia and the Karst Plateau.**

small areas of cultivated land where anything is cultivated that can possibly be cultivated under such conditions. Fertile karst land is found only in the Sežana area. Rocky karst, or half-bare and bare karst, is not only a natural phenomenon, but above all the work of man (Gams, 1991; Radinja, 1987a). A patchwork carpet of these efforts is recognized in piles of rocks, escarpments, and walls. Due to their geomorphological properties, karst terrain is particularly exposed to the erosion effects of climatic factors such as wind, rain, snow, and ice. Unmitigated deforestation has aggravated this type of microclimate condition (Gams, 1991, 6):

*When adapting the rocky or semi-bare originally wooded Littoral Dinaric Karst for pastures, the peasants used to burn the forest. To make meadows, they removed stones from the surface, and to prepare land for ploughing they also removed*

*them from the soil. For growing grapevines and fruit trees, they had to remove stones to a depth of half a meter or more. The forms of accumulated rubble were related to the intensity of clearing rock. The intended land use and shapes of accumulated cleared stones (or rubble) form a system that has been changing over the course of time.*

In the immediate vicinity of the settlements there were gardens, fields, and meadows. The slopes are characterized by low terrace walls without binders such as mortar or cement. The dry stone wall was also referred to as a karst wall (Radinja, 1987b). For agricultural purposes, cultivating the soil of fields in sinkholes is more natural because soil is collected in them.

Authors speak about agricultural karst landscapes (Fr. *paysages agro-karstiques*; Nicod, 1987, 108–110), which are characterized by stone walls and cultivated terraces (Lago, 1994; Nicod, 1992).

Terraced landscapes are often bearers of spatial identity throughout the world, including in other geographical areas of Slovenia (e.g., in the Jeruzalem Hills, the Gorizia Hills, and elsewhere). A terraced landscape contributes to the identity and profile of local cultures. It is an important part of people's quality of life, and it ensures diversity and makes the region attractive, thus preserving settlements and the vitality of rural areas (Ažman Momirski, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2008d). In this context, terraces are often recognized as important landscape elements. Hudoklin (2008) identified terraced landscapes as areas of landscape identity that are changing significantly in some parts of Slovenia. On the other hand, terraces of low or medium importance are very common in Slovenia.

Identity also plays a role in reestablishing the connection with the "land of the fathers." In many cases, young people are returning to forgotten farms inherited from their parents. This connection, however, does not only refer to possession, but can also describe affiliation acquired through care for the land. This search for identity does not lead to easy land preservation (Varotto et al., 2019). Terraces are perceived as part of the identity of the Ligurian landscape; in this area, Cinque Terre National Park is the most representative image. Multidimensional effects (or costs) of land abandonment in terraced landscapes are a loss of cultural identity and cultural diversity. Important multidimensional services of the ecosystem in terraced landscapes are cultural identity and sense of place. The olive is the emblematic tree of the Mediterranean region. In addition to viticulture and grain cultivation, growing olives is the most traditional agricultural activity, and the most striking feature of its agricultural landscape is characteristic of the Mediterranean landscape (Loumou, Giourga, 2003). Place identity is also the critical parameter in the direction and dynamics of the tourism impact (Terkleani, 1991).

Today, the balance between built-up areas and the environment is increasingly shifting toward the edge of the open landscape. It is therefore necessary to examine whether the identity of the built environment can also be created by the external coherent network of settlement and landscape areas (Loeper et al., 2016). The identity of a region is rooted in both built-up areas and the landscape. The Landscapes of the World Heritage List (Cultural Landscapes, 2015) are cultural landscapes that are part of our collective identity and they are protected because they illustrate the evolution of human society and settlement over time.

### Hypothesis

The analytical review of terraced landscapes in Slovenia so far (Ažman Momirski, Kladnik, 2009; Ažman Momirski, 2019) must be added the work defining the terraced landscape of the Karst Plateau. Radinja (1987a, b) focuses, among other things, on research on karst dry

stone walls, which mostly support terraced slopes in the karst region. Gams (1991) also highlights terraced areas in other geographical areas, such as in Croatia (e.g., a deteriorating terraced landscape below the village of Meja above the main coastal road from Rijeka to Kraljevica on the edge of the Bay of Bakar). Panjek (2015) has recently provided what is probably the most comprehensive insight into the terraced karst landscape.

The karst terraced landscape is certainly exceptional and it differs considerably from other Slovenian terraced landscapes in terms of its origins and causes, so that, like other spatial elements of the karst region, it should be treated with caution and thorough understanding. If its true characteristics are clearly known, it will be easier to add values and a future to this cultivated and maintained land. The main identification problem is a correct inventory, without which one cannot determine the characteristics of the terraced landscape.

### METHODOLOGY AND DATA

Selecting various methodologies was necessary for the purposes and aims of this research. The methodology for identifying terraced landscapes is based on various criteria (Ažman Momirski, 2019). Diverse types of terraces exist within Slovenia's terraced landscapes, but they are all made up of two basic formal elements: a terrace platform (or tread) and a terrace slope (or riser; Ažman Momirski, 2008b). The criteria for determining the types of terraced landscapes are defined according to:

- The use or function of the terrace slope and terrace platform;
- The form of the terrace slope and terrace platform; and
- The construction of the terrace slope.

Land use relates to the exploitation of land through human activity in the landscape, and it is one of the best indicators of landscape structure and processes. Within Slovenia's cultural landscapes, three main types of terraces can be distinguished based on land use (Ažman Momirski, Kladnik, 2009):

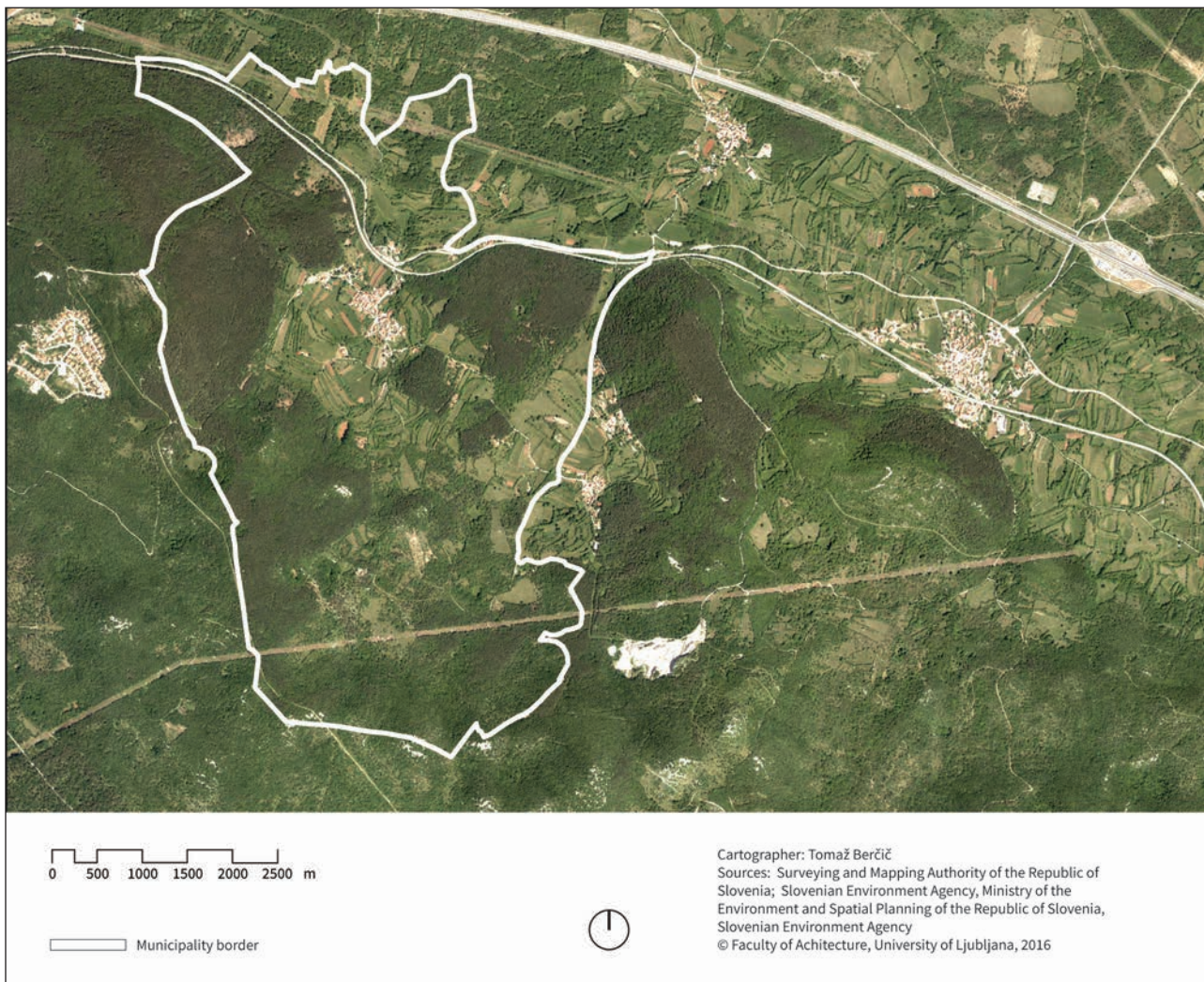
- Agricultural terraces;
- Viticultural terraces; and
- Fruit-growing terraces.

Mixed types of terraces can be also found. Vegetables are grown below olive groves on terraces, fruit trees are planted on the slopes of agricultural terraces, and so on.

The construction of terraced slopes can be divided into three basic categories:

- Dry stone wall construction (traditional terraces);
- Slopes reinforced with stones that were grubbed out during cultivation of farmland, and later covered with earth and grassed over (traditional terraces); and
- Grassed terrace slopes (modern terraces based on traditional terraces, and modern terraces).





**Figure 4: The Merče cadastral district.**

This study focuses on terraced structures that are still largely intact, which means that the terraces are fully in agricultural use, and the slopes or dry stone walls are fully or largely maintained.

The selected study area was the settlement of Merče in the Municipality of Sežana, which is located in the Mediterranean plateaus (Figure 4). It covers 392 hectares and has a population of 108 (SURS, 2015). The lowest elevation in the territory is 342 m, the highest is 575 m, and the average is 424 m.

In order to determine the purpose, location, and characteristics of the terraces, digital orthophoto maps with an image element of 0.50 m were used as the first layer. The digital elevation model used had a resolution of 5 m and a height accuracy of 1 m in open areas and 3 m in overgrown areas. The tool is not as useful as LIDAR (Light Detection and Ranging), which is twenty-five times more accurate than the digital elevation model; LIDAR scanning has high resolution (Berčič,

2016). Land-use maps, which are a digital database of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food, have also been used. The database is regularly updated, and during the workflow it was compared with historical land use at a scale of 1:2,880 in the Franciscan Cadaster (AS-179).

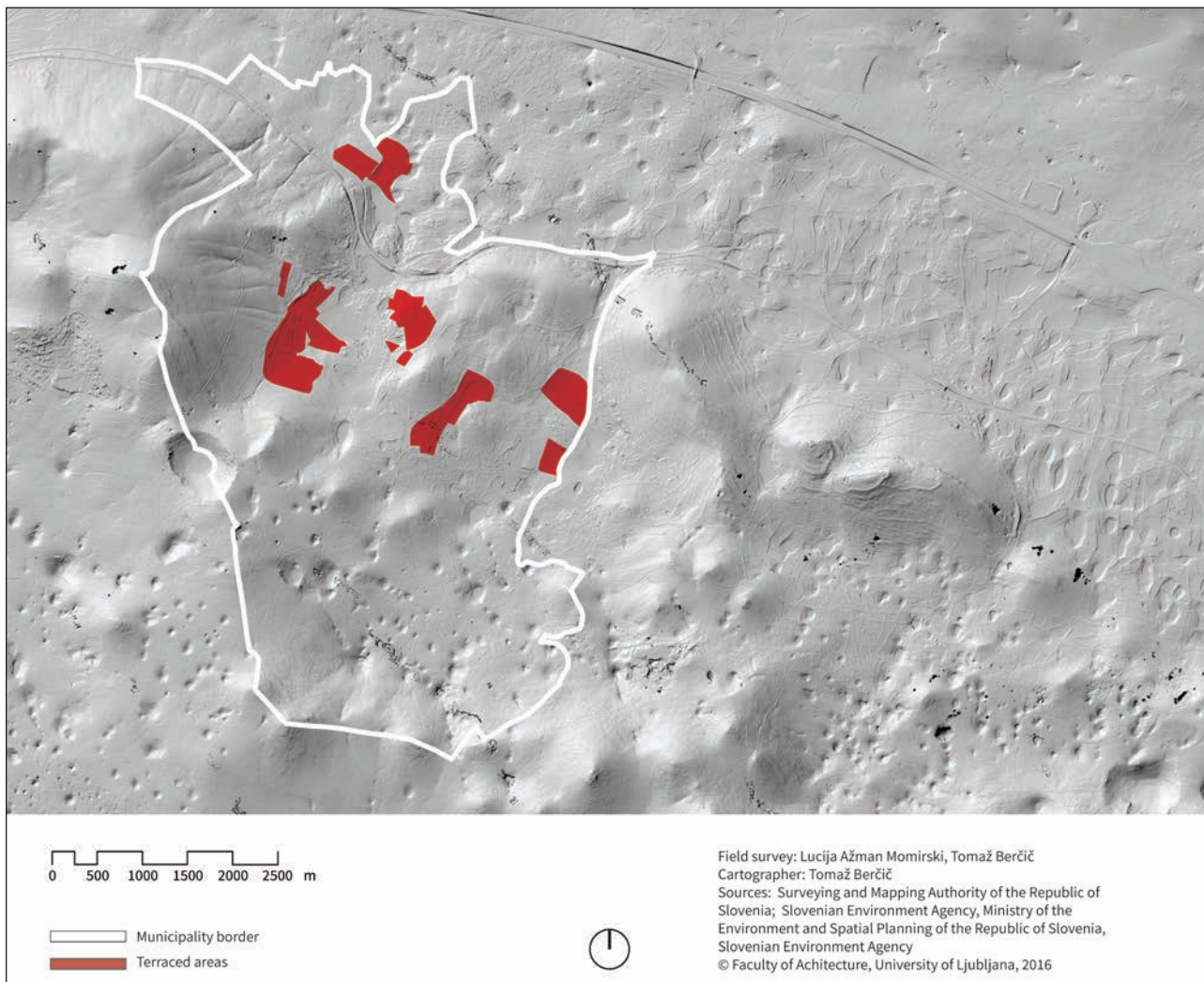
Not only field observations, but also on-site measurements contributed to the accuracy of the selected site.

## RESULTS

According to DEM5 (the digital elevation model) data analysis, there are twenty-three hectares of active terraced areas, which corresponds to 6% of the area of the settlement (Figure 5). The lowest elevation of the terraced area is 362 m, the highest is 439 m, and the average is 403 m.

For the analytical terrain measurements, the slopes of the cadastral district were divided into five classes or





**Figure 5: Location of terraced landscapes in the Merče cadastral district.**

categories, with calculated inclinations in degrees or output as percentage values (Ažman Momirski, 2008). The first category ranges from 0 to 15% (0–8.5°), the second from 15 to 30% (8.5–16.7°), the third from 30 to 50% (16.7–26.6°), the fourth from 50 to 70% (26.6–35°), and the fifth over 70% (35°). The slopes in the Merče cadastral district are quite low because 45% of them fit into the first category. The second category includes 34% of slopes, the third category 17%, the fourth category 3%, and the fifth category 1%. The terraced landscapes in the Merče cadastral district are mainly located in the category ranging from 0 to 15% (0–8.5°); that is, 69% of terraced areas. In the second category are 22% of terraces, in the third category 8%, and in the fourth category 2%. No terraces can be found in the fifth category.

The aspect analysis of the entire settlement is mixed (N 16%, NE 19%, E 23%, SE 15%, S 7%, SW 5%, W 6%, and NW 9%) and the aspect analysis of the ter-

raced areas is also mixed (N 11%, NE 15%, E 25%, SE 16%, S 7%, SW 6%, W 10%, NW 10%). Most terraced areas are oriented toward the east, which corresponds to the aspect of the terrain of the entire Merče cadastral district.

The function of terraced platforms is mainly agricultural (meadows); some terraces near the settlement of Merče and its houses are vineyards, and some have vegetable gardens. Comparing the LIDAR results, it was noticed that there are vineyard terraces that are now overgrown with trees.

Terraced slopes in Merče are regularly constructed with dry stone walls, which in some cases today have disappeared under vegetation, which has grown into the stones. In rare cases a terrace or two with terraced grass slopes was observed (Figure 6). Terraces within a sinkhole, in which part of the slope of the sinkhole is terraced, as described and sketched in the literature (Gams, 1991), were not found in Merče.





*Figure 6: Aerial view of terraced landscapes in the Merče cadastral district (Photo: Matevž Lenarčič).*



*Figure 7: View of a terraced landscape near Merče (Photo: Lučka Ažman Momirski).*

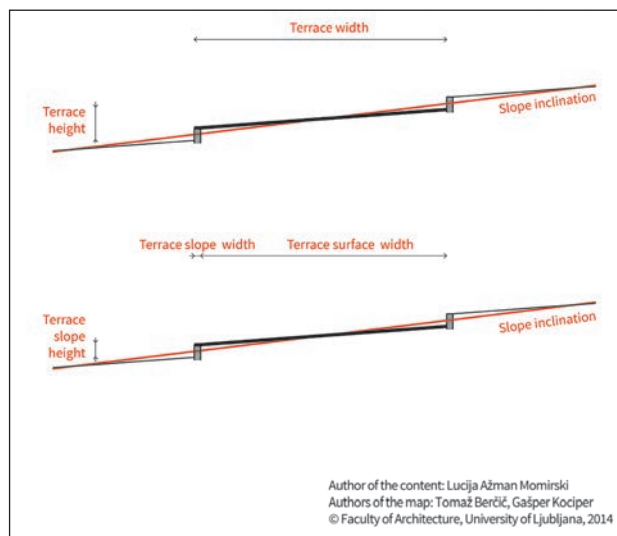
Dry stone walls usually run parallel to the slope and usually, but not always, delimit the terraces; in some cases they run perpendicular to the slope (Figure 7). This fact, combined with the previous finding that terraced landscapes in the Merče cadastral district are mainly located in a category ranging from 0 to 15% (0–8.5°), makes the precise detection of the terraced areas extremely difficult. Consequently, some terraces were measured manually on the ground, and the result was a detailed cross-section of an individual terrace in the Karst cultural landscape near Merče (Figure 8). In addition to the low slope inclination of the terrain, the terrace slope height is also low and the terrace slope width is narrow. The entire terrace height is, however, higher because the terrace platform has an inclination similar to that of the terrain. The terrace platform and terrace width are quite wide.

Past interviews with locals (Gams, 1991) indicate the depth of stone removal in the terrain: between 40 and 90 cm, and mostly “up to the knee”. For the vineyards on slopes, farmers cleaned stones from bottom to top, and the stones were mostly deposited along the lower wall or scaffolding, and to some extent along the side wall. Clearing stones from slopes was therefore easier than on flat fields. The soil had to be deeper in fields, but this depth was not necessary for vineyards. More stones were accumulated in vineyards than in fields. The basic form of the vineyard system is cultivated terraces with dry stone walls. If necessary, the stones were embedded in the walls and earth was thrown onto the pile. Some of the stones were placed on the rock in front of the steep slope and earth was spread over the entire terrace. The originally greater depth of the soil on many properties has changed due to exposure.

Because all of the fieldwork was done manually, the roads do not necessarily allow access to each terrace. The forms of the terraces are also not even, as can be observed, for example, in the Brkini Hills or the Koper Hills, where the regulated pattern of the terrace platforms is quite geometric. In the Merče cadastral district, some terraced platforms form a regular repetition of the terraced structure, but there is much more irregularity of forms than in other terraced landscapes of Slovenia, considering both the width and height of the terraces (Figure 9).

## DISCUSSION

In recent decades, the constant threat to the Karst Plateau has been promoted by numerous efforts to preserve the natural and cultural values of the karst landscape.



**Figure 8:** Cross-section of an individual terrace in the karst cultural landscape near Merče.

cooperation. The main objective of the call was to promote sustainable development, management, and cooperation in a future karst park;

- Almost in parallel, the Ministry of the Environment and Spatial Planning started implementing the main Timav: Karst Regional Park project as part of the national and cross-border PHARE program. The main objective of this project was to protect groundwater quality and preserve the unique natural values of the Karst region. The project initially focused on revitalizing the Reka River. At the beginning of the Škocjan Caves Regional Park project,<sup>1</sup> preparations were also made for a plan to establish and manage the karst region;
- In 1997, at the request of the Ministry of the Environment and Regional Planning, the Oikos company drew up expert bases for the Regional Park Management Plan (Harmel, Kobal, 1997);
- In 1996, the Štanjel–Karst Pilot Project began with the establishment of an interministerial government committee and a coordination structure for project management;
- In 1998, the project Cycle Route Network in the Karst marked 370 km of cycle routes and published the map *Cycling through the Karst Park*.
- In 1998, the much-appreciated roundtable Authentic Architectural Heritage of the Karst Plateau was held in Lipica, which dealt with preserving and repairing the building stock on the Karst Plateau.

<sup>1</sup> Škocjan Caves Regional Park was established in 1996 by the Škocjan Caves Regional Park Act (ZRPS), *Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia*, no. 57/1996, 7/1999-ZVKD, 110/2002-ZGO-1). The UNESCO committee, which included Škocjan Caves in the list of world natural and cultural sites in 1986, threatened the Slovenian government that Škocjan Caves could be removed from the list if appropriate protection, management, and safeguarding the caves' environment were not provided.





**Figure 9:** Various elements of the terraced landscape in the cadastral district of Merče (Photo: Lučka Ažman Momirski).

From 1999 to 2003, the Karst Pilot Project was re-launched, with the aim of preparing a regional development program, also as a basis for Karst Regional Park.

The Karst Pilot Project was a joint project of six Karst Plateau communities, seven ministries, and the Council of Europe. The aim of the project was to create a strategy and program for sustainable development of the Karst region, including integral protection of natural and cultural heritage. The CPC is intended to pool all the leverage forces throughout the karst area in order to protect and preserve the nature of the karst cultural landscape and all the natural and cultural features of the area. The project points out the advantages of the karst landscape, development potentials, and options for sustainable development. The following documents were prepared as part of the project:

- Problem analysis of the functionally consolidated karst region: a joint assessment of the region and identification of key questions that are the starting points and guidelines for the development program;
- A joint development program of the municipalities of Divača, Hrpelje-Kozina, Komen, and Sežana, and the karst portions of the municipalities Koper and Miren-Kostanjevica, with a strategic part for

2001–2010 (from January 18th, 2002); this is a politically binding document based on a long-term vision, a development orientation, and the strategic choice of development partners;

- Agreement on cooperation on establishing Karst Regional Park (dated July 11th, 2000), signed by the minister for the environment and regional planning, the chair of the Interdepartmental Committee for the Karst, and the mayors of the Karst Plateau municipalities of Divača, Komen, Miren-Kostanjevica, Hrpelje-Kozina, Koper, and Sežana. The area of the planned park was the subject of the karst pilot project mentioned above;
- The implementation part of the joint development program for 2003–2006 for the municipalities of Divača, Hrpelje-Kozina, Komen, and Sežana, and the karst portions of the municipalities of Koper and Miren-Kostanjevica, includes priority projects for the period from 2003 to 2006 to implement the vision.

A special feature of the Karst Pilot Project was its methodology because it advocated a bottom-up approach. This means that the most important development guidelines should come from locals (the local

population) and not only experts or politicians. The inclusion of local proposals is a guarantee that the possible Karst Regional Park will not become a “reserve” where static or excessive restrictions prevail.

Why were terraced landscapes not included in these efforts? Studies have shown that Slovenian spatial planning has not recognized terraced regions as a landscape system *sui generis* (Ažman Momirski, Berčič, 2016). Working out professional guidelines for the landscape is performed by local municipalities, which often follow the principle of not implementing anything that is not required. However, awareness of terraced landscapes is growing at the global, European, and national levels. Research, academic studies, and civil initiatives have also taken place in Slovenia. What is missing is a link between research and local developments.

### Reactions of civil society movements and partnerships to the threat to the cultural landscape

The local population perceived the situation over a decade ago as a threat and recognized it as a major land-management problem. It began to recognize that the natural environment is a limited good. If such goods are exhausted or destroyed, they cannot be replaced. At the level of a civil society movement, a civil society awareness campaign was organized, known as the Karst Civil Initiative (*CI Kras*). The initiative has begun to draw the attention of the responsible authorities to the shortcomings of the current spatial planning and implementation regulations of the Municipality of Sežana. The areas for the development of settlements on the Karst Plateau were indeed oversized, which was also one of the main reasons why such extensive construction projects were (legally) possible. The fact is that there are about 2,400 building units with just over seven thousand inhabitants in about sixty-three villages on the Sežana Karst Plateau (the town of Sežana is excluded here). According to the available planning documents, it would be possible to erect more than five thousand residential buildings with land in an area of approximately 800 m<sup>2</sup>, which corresponds to more than doubling the population in the villages of the Municipality of Sežana (Lah, 2008, 15).

Over the years, increasingly more supporters and sympathizers have joined the Karst Civil Initiative, especially at a time when the municipalities are preparing new spatial acts. The organized public has therefore addressed Karst Plateau issues loudly and discussed them publicly. It held numerous roundtables and expert consultations, and it addressed many of the proposals, initiatives, and requirements to the responsible institutions.

- From 2008 to 2012, the Karst Civil Initiative particularly emphasized the following issues:
- Inadequate (outdated) spatial plans or legislation involving outstanding natural and cultural heritage;

- The ratio between the renewal of the existing building stock and planning new buildings, and overly large areas for new buildings;
- Modern development, which should be based on a model of sustainable development and conservation;
- Establishing a protected area for the Karst Plateau or a karst regional park;
- Timely and equal participation of the public in spatial decisions;
- Preserving the national and cultural identity of the Karst Plateau (Barič, 2010, 38–39).

Similar reactions and opposition from the public have recently been triggered by proposals and maintenance measures on public roads on the Karst Plateau aimed exclusively at improving or ensuring road safety. As a rule, the majority of interventions were very poorly adapted to the characteristics and identity of the area. In addition to the other technical measures, the maintenance measures included the removal of dry stone border walls, cliffs, road signs and stones, historical bridges, and other features.

The initiator of the public discussion was the management board of the Partnership for Karst Dry Stone Construction, a civil society association of individuals and legal entities in the cross-border Karst Plateau region. The conference topics, which included recognized experts, included landscape features such as road walls, masonry, terraces, road stones, historical bridges, historical signs, and so on as valuable components of road infrastructure that have recently suffered frequent damage, vandalism, and planned destruction by planners and contractors.

One of the conclusions of the public discussion is that the participants must emphasize above all that, when planning maintenance and repair measures on all municipal roads on the Karst Plateau, only safe technical solutions are permitted. The proposed solutions must also be appropriate in terms of architectural design, landscape protection, and conservation of natural and cultural heritage, and they must be agreed upon with the public beforehand. The implementation of measures to improve road safety should include the following:

- Preparation of preliminary road-safety assessments of the road network, including traffic congestion, road-safety indicators with the number of road accidents, the frequency and severity of accidents, and a comparison of results over time;
- Treatment of elements of cultural heritage as an important part of the landscape and, where possible, their incorporation into new roadways or for them to be left untouched or avoided by new installations. Dry stone walls should be preserved in karst areas on less frequented



roads and on the more traffic-friendly ones if they do not impair road safety. Appropriate solutions should be found for structures and areas of immovable heritage to prevent the addition of safety fences along banks;

- Responsible selection of contractors for maintaining and repairing registered sections of road infrastructure with historical value, which must include, in addition to the applicable provisions, the lowest price criteria, including quality of work, and a high level of knowledge and solutions in working with the heritage of artists (Partnership for Karst Dry Stone Construction, 2018).

The public discussion also presented the current research on Slovenia's terraced landscapes, including the findings that the concept of terraced landscapes is not used in documents at the national and local levels, and that national documents do not contain the terms "terrace" and "terraced slope." These findings are surprising because terraced landscapes are found in 193 municipalities in Slovenia, but they also indicate that global and international trends and Slovenian research that has been carried out have had no impact on Slovenia's strategic, legislative, and spatial documents to include specific concepts related to terraced landscapes in their texts.

#### MODELS FOR ESTABLISHING A PROTECTED AREA ON THE KARST PLATEAU

How is it possible to protect the karst landscape, and how can a protected area be established? These topics have been important for decades, and Slovenian society and the Slovenian state, with all its institutions responsible for the matter, have failed to find adequate answers. In accordance with the objectives of the Resolution on the National Program for the Protection of the Environment 2005–2012 (*Resolucija o nacionalnem programu varstva okolja 2005–2012*, 2006), the share of protected areas in Slovenia should increase to 22% by 2014. From the analyses and available data from the Ministry of the Environment and Spatial Planning, it can be concluded that the current status of all protected areas in Slovenia in 2018 is only 14% of the country's territory.

Even experts can be convinced that the Karst Plateau has long been a protected area of Natura 2000. With the Regulation on Special Protection Areas, the Slovenian government has included almost the entire Karst Plateau in Slovenia's special protection areas on the basis of two EU directives: the Directive on the Conservation of Natural Habitats and of Fauna and Flora, and the Birds Directive. For almost two decades, the European Union has established a network of specially protected Natura 2000 sites. The main aim is to conserve and protect the natural habitats of en-

dangered plant and animal species, but not the actual protected areas, or parks. Its aim is to preserve biodiversity. In addition, the choice of the protection regime for Natura 2000 sites is at the discretion of each member state.

Certainly, there are several various ways or models for creating truly protected areas in accordance with the recommendations and categorization of the IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature), which requires, among other things, uniform land management (IUCN, 2018).

It should not be overlooked that Slovenia is a signatory of the European Landscape Convention (Slovenia signed the convention on March 7th, 2001 and ratified it on July 15th, 2003) (*Zakon o ratifikaciji Evropske konvencije o krajini* (2003)). As a signatory to the convention, Slovenia is committed to its outstanding landscapes, including its terraced karst landscapes, and to establishing and implementing landscape policies aimed at landscape protection, management, and planning through the adoption of specific measures. The first step toward this objective is to raise awareness of its existence; that is, through a precise inventory of this landscape throughout the karst area.

For terraced landscape preservation, in addition to agricultural models, there are also land-stewardship models and UNESCO world heritage sites, as well as other models of terraced landscape regeneration. The motivation to explore them is to achieve multiple answers to how to change passive heritage into active heritage, how to foster the longevity of terraced landscapes, and how to contribute to the local community as part of this goal. The methodological principles of strategic spatial planning for regenerating terraced landscapes link these with society and promote the innovative use of cultural heritage (Ažman Momirski, 2019). This is in line with the New Urban Agenda of Habitat III (2018), which emphasizes promoting the use of cultural heritage for sustainable spatial development and recognizes its role in extending participation and civic responsibility.

In the future, a heritage-led sustainability landscape model will require measures for further development, including:

- Good knowledge of the location;
- Good knowledge of activities at the site;
- Defining common goals of participants at the site;
- A network of participants;
- Promoting the territory and activities;
- Selecting forms of management by skilled participants;
- A participatory process (involvement of all participants);
- Innovative services; and
- Planning, design, and regeneration of terraced landscapes.



It is not necessary to repeat all the technical studies, analyses, and status documents produced out so far, which contain numerous technical arguments and statements that this is an outstanding landscape with many natural and cultural values, which inevitably requires a suitable protection law and management plan; examples include a resolution on national development projects for 2007–2013 (*Resolucija o nacionalnih razvojnih projektih 2007–2013*, 2006) and a resolution on the national environmental protection program for 2005–2012. On the other hand, it is necessary to carry out new studies, such as an inventory of the terraced landscape, that

provide hitherto lacking data and information about the karst landscape. Of particular importance is the fact that it is indirectly possible, through territorial protection, to take necessary measures to protect national interests and cultural identity. When one speaks of the identity of a space, a settlement, or a building, this refers to a set of attributes according to which space and structures can be separated from others. Identity is an array and a mixture of features that characterize spatial structures and give them an identity. They create a unique image of a building, a city, and a landscape.

## IZJEMNA KULTURNA KRAŠKA POKRAJINA: PRVINE TERASIRANE POKRAJINE IN KREPITEV NARAVNIH IN KULTURNIH VREDNOT KRASA

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### POVZETEK

*Izjemna kulturna kraška pokrajina je v sodobnosti, kljub aktivnostim različnih civilnih združenj, iniciativ in partnerstva, pogosto ogrožena. Ogrožajo jo zlasti pomanjkljiva ozaveščenost prebivalstva in kapitalski pritiski na katere se lokalne skupnosti neustrezno odzivajo s svojo komunikacijo, prostorskimi akti in razvojnimi politikami. Ob tem je pogosto neučinkovito tudi posredovanje in delovanje odgovornih državnih institucij. V razpravi se osredotočamo na prvine terasirane kraške pokrajine, ki se po svojem razvoju in značilnostih razlikujejo od drugih terasiranih pokrajin v Sloveniji. Njena individualna in osnovna narava in njene najbolj pomembne kvalitete so bile preučevane v katastrski občini Merče, ki leži v občini Sežana. Slovenija kot podpisnica Evropske konvencije o krajini se je zavezala, da za svoje izjemne krajine - mednje zagotovo sodi tudi terasirana kraška krajina - "izvaja krajinsko politiko, katere cilji so varstvo, upravljanje in načrtovanje krajine na podlagi sprejemanja posebnih ukrepov". Prvi korak k temu cilju je ozaveščanje o njenem obstoju, torej tudi natančna inventarizacija krajine na celotnem območju Krasa.*

**Ključne besede:** terasirane pokrajine, identiteta, izjemne krajine, inventarizacija, Kras, naravne vrednote, kulturne vrednote

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## DISCOVERING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE IN CROATIA: HISTORY AND CLASSIFICATION OF CROATIAN ADRIATIC ENCLOSED LANDSCAPE

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### ABSTRACT

*This paper presents the diversity of Croatian Adriatic enclosed landscapes through their history and classification. The model of 'landscape pattern' is applied - the synthesis of information on land use, land structure, geomorphology, soil, agricultural practices and economic history. The result is derived from long-term research which has involved field work, terrestrial and aerial photo documentation, landscape history research, creation and analysis of various spatial and cartographic GIS data. Six general classes have been recognised (micro-clusters, individual enclosures, managed woodlands, pastures, fields and karst clearings for crops), as well as fourteen sub-classes, described and presented with illustration, photos and GIS data.*

**Keywords:** cultural landscape, enclosed landscape, enclosure, stone wall, Croatian Adriatic, landscape history

## ALLA SCOPERTA DEL PAESAGGIO CULTURALE IN CROAZIA – LA STORIA E LA CLASSIFICAZIONE DEI PAESAGGI RECINTATI DELL'ADRIATICO CROATO

### SINTESI

*Questo articolo presenta la diversità dei paesaggi recintati nell'Adriatico croato attraverso la loro storia e classificazione. Viene applicato il modello del 'modello del paesaggio' - la sintesi di informazioni sull'uso del suolo, la struttura del terreno, la geomorfologia, il suolo, le pratiche agricole e la storia economica. Il risultato deriva dalla ricerca a lungo termine che include la ricerca da campo, la fotodocumentazione terrestre ed aerea, la ricerca della storia del paesaggio, la creazione e l'analisi di vari dati GIS spaziali e cartografici. Sono state riconosciute sei classi (micro-grappoli, recinzioni individuali, boschi pianificati, pascoli, campi e radure), come anche quattordici sottoclassi, descritte e presentate con illustrazioni, fotografie e dati GIS.*

**Parole chiave:** paesaggio culturale, paesaggi recintati, recinzioni, muro di pietra, Adriatico croato, storia del paesaggio

## INTRODUCTION

In Croatian standard and vernacular language, the concept of *enclosed landscape* is present in different expressions for enclosed agricultural plots and/or their borders, specifically the dry-stone ones. Some of them denote exclusively the agricultural plot (*drmun, dolčić, dolac, umejak, laz, lazina, lazetina, pasika, pašin, pasičina, krčevina, krčavnica, krivača, tresada, vlaka, vlačica, vlačina, branjevina, liha, vrtlo*, etc.) and some denote the surrounding wall (*mocira, gromača, barbakan, trmezal*, etc.), while some can include both meanings (*ograda, ogradina, međa, meja, graja*), which should be clarified by further onomastic research.

When it comes to Croatian legislation and sectoral policies, the topic of rural/agricultural landscape is inadequately addressed. In terms of protective designations, this category is mostly overlooked, or in rare cases when being the subject of protection, it is caught between 'natural' and 'cultural' approaches (Andlar and Aničić, 2018), with marked absence of tools for interpretation and integral planning and management.

On the other hand, positive outcomes are expected from implementation of the awaited rural development payments for dry-stone and hedges enclosures and related practices (CRDP, 2015). Also, the skill of dry-stone walling is officially recognized as an intangible cultural good (NN, 2017) and Croatia was a member of the multinational nomination after which the "Art of dry stone walling, knowledge and techniques" has recently been enlisted on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (UNESCO, 2018). Thanks to non-institutional initiatives, the awareness of enclosed landscapes in Croatia has increased particularly along with the appreciation of the dry-stone heritage in general. Since the late 1960s, when the photo of the vineyards near Primošten (Dalmatia) with its distinctive pattern of stone wall enclosed parcels was exhibited in UNESCO headquarters in Geneva under the title 'The work of human hands', the dry-stone walls have a special place in Croatian imagery as an authentic and democratic heritage. However, some twenty years since bringing up the Croatian Adriatic (agri)cultural landscapes topic, the overall contribution by Croatian researchers is still scant, with noticeable absence of comprehensive registers of the condition, diversity and potentials of agricultural landscapes which would undoubtedly lead to an improvement of relevant sectoral policies.

In accordance with the problems outlined, the aim of this paper is to establish basis for interpretation and analysis of Croatian Adriatic enclosed landscapes and to point to their importance and variety, as well as stimulate further research and comparison to international inventories. The main outcomes are a brief historical review and the classification of Croatian Adriatic enclosed landscapes corroborated by illustrations, photos, GIS inventories.

## RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

The main research hypothesis is, that in the absence of unified and widely accepted framework for the classification of the enclosed landscapes, the classification framework presented in Andlar and Aničić (2018) and Andlar et al. (2017) can adequately serve to classify the enclosed landscapes of Croatian Adriatic and represent their functional, structural and morphological features. Furthermore, we assume that, due to the variety of its enclosed landscapes, Croatian Adriatic can be seen as a good case-study area for testing the framework in general.

## METHODOLOGY

This paper's topic is a part of comprehensive initiative for registering of Croatian Adriatic silvo-agro-pastoral cultural landscape, which combines the knowledge gained through several research projects, PhD thesis (Andlar, 2012), the work of Dragodid NGO and Suhozid.hr open public dry-stone heritage database (Suhozid, 2018), local landscape character assessments projects, student term papers, bachelor's and master's theses. In methodological means, this paper continues the earlier research: Croatian Adriatic cultural landscape classification (Andlar and Aničić, 2018) and Croatian Adriatic terraced landscapes classification (Andlar et al., 2017). Using the same framework, this classification is based on several hierarchical levels.

The first one is based on general *land use* categories (determined by human striving to cultivate the land, with the activities like ploughing, terracing, pasturing, woodland management etc., rather than using the concept of *land cover* which implies only the type of crop/vegetation). The next level, the subclass, is derived from *land use structure* criteria implying the plot pattern (its shape, size, openness, closeness etc.), while the associated description pertains to the multi-dimensional context (geomorphology, land cover, soil, agricultural practices, function, historical period/s, local land use expressions and place names etc.). Since the subclass is recognized and determined by the repetition of the same spatial pattern, its scale is not fixed: it can cover all, from vast areas to micro locations. Each subclass is exemplified on several geographic locations, substantiated with photos and archetype illustration. Where possible, the variations of subclasses are also indicated. The classification is introduced by a historical review, which outlines the significant periods of enclosed landscape genesis and its natural, socio-economic and cultural context.

Research involved flyovers and fieldwork during the past 10 years, establishment of a geo-tagged photo register, analysis of various spatial and cartographic GIS data (historical and recent digital orthophotos, topographic, soil, land use and historical maps). Particularly for the



historical review, scientific and expert studies from different disciplines were analysed, such as history of economy, eco-history, anthropology, historical toponymy, demography, archaeology, geomorphology, etc.

#### THE GENESIS OF CROATIAN ADRIATIC ENCLOSED LANDSCAPE

In our previous paper (Andlar et al., 2017), we pointed out the main geographical characteristics of Croatian Adriatic region: complex relief forms, thin soil, sparse natural vegetation, lack of surface water, high and irregular precipitation, high soil erosivity. Most of these characteristics are present across wider Euro-Mediterranean area (presented by Grove and Rackham, 2001; McNeill, 2003), but some, especially the complex topography, are specific for the regional karstic Dinaric-Mediterranean context (presented by Cvijić, 1918; Filipčić, 1998; Bognar, 1999 and others). The diversity of relief forms on karst resulted in the complexity of the other factors important for agriculture (availability of soil, average temperature, precipitation, exposure to wind and solar radiation), which further led to high diversity of human adaptation to agricultural production, in which dry stone wall enclosing has played an important role.

The history of the Croatian Adriatic landscape is characterized by its borderline position between the Mediterranean, Balkans and Central Europe, and consequently, the peripheral status within the great empires or states (Ancient Greece, Roman Empire, Republic of Venice, Ottoman Empire, Napoleon's France, Austrian and Austro-Hungarian Empire, Communist Block, Western World). Unstable political situation along the ever-changing borders, which have been laid mostly through the sparsely populated hinterland areas, favoured ancient forms of non-intensive transhumant sheepherding, while the politically more stable areas, such as islands, have sporadically suffered from high demographic pressure and the 'hunger' for the fertile land (Glamuzina and Fuerst-Bjeliš, 2015).

Sheepherding has been the oldest factor in development of the cultural landscape on a larger scale, resulting in degradation of the indigenous forest vegetation very early in history (Glamuzina and Fuerst-Bjeliš, 2015). Sheepherding is always associated with enclosing, at least with its most elementary form, the sheepfold, which can be built of wood or stone, depending on their availability.

The first land cultivation happened in the Quaternary land deposits (dolines) and was probably followed by dry stone walling, not only for protecting the cultivated land from animals' trespassing, but also for depositing the excess rock. It can be assumed that none of the earliest enclosures survived in their original form, because of the limited durability of the structures - even the stone ones,

as discussed by Kulušić (1999) - or because of the subsequent modifications and re-use of the material. There is some evidence of underpinning masonry and dry stone enclosures in Neolithic settlements (Chapman et al. 1996; Moore et al., 2007), as well as some general speculations about the early terracing in the Mediterranean in the Neolithic times (Hughes, 2005), but the abundance of archaeological evidence of using the dry stone technique in the Adriatic Croatia comes from the Bronze and early Iron Age, with the spread of Illyrian hillfort culture (Chapman et al., 1996; Buršić-Matijašić, 2008 etc.), including the finding of a bronze age livestock enclosure and dwellings (Chapman et al., 1996; Batović, 2004; Sirovica, 2015). Many of the hill forts still stand on top of hills, and some of them have been used as sheepherding enclosures in later times.

Greek and Roman colonization period brought the still visible evidence of rectangular dry-stone demarcations of colonized agricultural lands: a notable example is the Stari Grad Plain, known as Χορά Φάρου (Chora of Pharos), which is known and protected as an UNESCO site (Picture 10e and 12), with the 180x900m orthogonal grid, and several Roman *agri* (Suić, 2003), with the 706x706 m orthogonal grid. Figure 11e shows the remnants of the Ancient Greek orthogonal land division in Stari Grad Plain which has been the basis for all the further layers of agricultural activities. Also worth noting from that period are the stone wall demarcations between the territories of indigenous Illyric communities on the foothills of Velebit mountain (Rendić-Miočević, 1969; Vrkić, 2015 and 2017), which can be seen as early *big-scale pasture enclosures* (presented later in this paper).

In the medieval period, the Euro-Mediterranean had a flourishing agricultural production, stretching from the eleventh to thirteenth century, due to the agrarian revolution and economic development. In the eastern Adriatic, the development of agricultural communities was fostered by the establishment of medieval statutes, which in some cases regulated how agricultural land and dry-stone walls were managed. For example, in the Dubrovnik Statute of 1272 (Šoljić, 2002) the *macera* and *mrgin* are described along with the rules for their maintenance, while in Istrian Demarcation of 1325 (Bratulić, 1992) and Hvar Statute of 1331 (Cvitančić, 1991) *gromače* and *gomile* are mentioned as the territorial demarcation.

From the early fifteenth century onward, the parts of eastern Adriatic under the Venetian rule (especially the islands) have been the targets of regional immigration after the Ottoman annexation of the Adriatic hinterland. The additional need for arable land was partially satisfied by allocations (Latin: *gratia*) of former communal land (mostly pastures) to the new settlers for cultivation (Kasandrić, 1978; Carter, 1992; Kovačić, 1993; Tudor, 2004; Dokoza, 2009).

During the mid-eighteenth century, the Venice-Ottoman war took turn in the favor of Venice. The reclaimed hinterland was assigned by the Venetian state to the new settlers and local warlords, with the first written obligations to enclose the managed woodlands with (dry-stone) walls from the neighbouring pastures (The Grimani's Law/Legge Grimani 1755–1956, in Sol-do, 2005).

Concerns about woodland improvement, fueled by the agrarianist theory of physiocracy, continued during the short period of French government (1806–1813) led by the enthusiastic governor Vincenzo Dandolo. In 1808, the newspapers publicly announced that, by that year, about 27.857 *campi* (more than 100 km<sup>2</sup>) of young woods have been established in 372 villages (Kauders, 1963, 395).

The period of Austrian/Hungarian government (1813–1918), especially the second half of 19th Century, was the period of the greatest changes in the cultural landscape. The last and the biggest large-scale karst reclamation with extensive dry-stone walling took place because of large-scale environmental and socio-political events. Several pandemics of grapevine diseases that had first hit the leading winegrowing regions of France caused the great excess revenues for the winegrowers in the peripheral areas of the global economy (such as Croatian Adriatic), encouraging them to increase the vineyard area several times. The changes in the land taxation led to the changes in the land ownership and rights which resulted in division and enclosing of the pastures and woodlands on several Croatian islands (Troglić, 1980; Kale, 2006 and 2010; Kraljević, 1994; Kulušić, 2006; Žuvela-Doda, 2008). The state-led afforestation of the barren karst (the focus was on coastal slope of Velebit mountain) was brought to a new level by the establishment of the office in Senj in 1878, that was responsible for both research, monitoring and activities of building enclosures (by engaging local contractors) and planting the new woods in them (Prpić and Jakovac, 2003).

This period of growth ended in a similar way: suddenly and because of larger-scale events (such as the spread of grapevine diseases to Croatian Adriatic, 1891 Austro-Italian commercial treaty known as 'Vinska klauzula' and World War I) that all led to economic crisis that resulted in land abandonment and exodus (Kraljević, 1994).

Much of the 19th century agriculture land, including enclosures, has never been reclaimed again. The spread of the industrialisation and urbanisation in the 20th century caused much of the arable land being transformed into settlements, while industrial agriculture favoured lowlands areas and wire fencing over enclosures, terraces and other traditional dry-stone landscape structures. Today's big agricultural undertakings mostly consist of the transformation of the former pastures into the fence-enclosed vineyards and

olive orchards by the means of the heavy mechanization. However, the research project on the bearers of the dry stone skill (conducted during 2016 for the inscription of the cultural good in the national register) showed that the upkeep of the traditional dry-stone enclosures is still the vital part of moderately successful sheepherding economies of several bigger Croatian islands, some tradition-oriented winegrowers, and some other active communities where dry stone walls no longer have such a direct significance for their lives but are connected to them in terms of identity.

## THE CLASSIFICATION

The unified models for enclosed landscape classification are a rarely targeted topic. One of the few attempts of a more detailed classification of agricultural landscapes at the European level is given within the EUCALAND project (Fairclough, 2010) where main classes are defined by the land use criteria (*open fieldscapes, enclosed fieldscapes, grazing, woodland pastures, terraced landscapes* etc.) while further sub-classes are based on the combination of structure and land use (e.g. open fieldscapes divided on open arable field, open mixed field, strip field, forest field or terraced landscapes, which are further divided into terraced fields, enclosed terraces, olive terraces etc.). Also, Historical Landscape Assessment method (Clark et al., 2004) should be considered since it deals with GIS mapping of landscape types and its historical origin on more detailed scale. Although not always, it is mostly applied in the interpretation of current field patterns and its historical period origin. So, the classes like *enclosures, terraces, openfield* are common, and are subdivided according to historical period and structural criteria using nomenclature like: *medieval enclosures, modern enclosures, Pre 18th Century Co-axial/Irregular, Regular Enclosures, medieval strip field enclosures* (Crow et al., 2011; Lambrick et al., 2013). Enclosures are often classified according to margin-type and stone wall-type. Aalen et al. (2011) classifies Irish enclosed fields based on the type of field boundary: hedges, dry stone walls and earth dams. Müller (2013) classify European boundaries according to the boundary type (hedged banks, hedgerows, field stone walls etc.), while field stone walls are classified by the type of construction (single, double, multiple etc.).

The first comprehensive proposal of Croatian Adriatic (agri)cultural landscape classification is presented in Andlar and Aničić (2018). It consisted of three levels. The first level is based on general land use categories: *pasture landscapes, managed woods landscapes, terraced landscapes, field landscapes, dry stone wall enclosures for crops and salterns*. The second level revolves around the concept of *land use structure* with the emphasis on open/closed systems (Andlar and Aničić, 2018); along with the main class *dry, stone*

wall enclosures for crops, enclosed landscapes are identified in almost every other main class: *enclosed pastures*, *enclosed woodlands*, *semi enclosed fields* and *enclosed fields*. The third level implies the application of concept of structural, functional and cultural-historical character of landscape with the aim to identify a specific class (Andlar and Aničić, 2018). The classification is presented in the table and by the structural sketch. This classification framework has been further adopted and elaborated for Croatian Adriatic terraced landscapes classification (Andlar et al., 2017). Main classes were further divided in subclasses by the structural criteria. Each subclass is described and corroborated by photos of particular examples, and archetypal axonometric illustrations. It can be observed that terraces subclasses are identified not only in their main category of *terraces* but in other as well, particularly in categories of *fields* and *stone wall enclosures*. This transitory character of many classes is observed in both studies. It means that certain class can contain characteristics from several main classes, and this fact should also be considered in classifying the enclosed landscapes.

#### Micro-clusters (Figure 1)

Within and around the minor agricultural settlements, we usually find complex patterns of manures, small sheepfolds, gardens, crop fields and threshing floors (Figure 1 and 2), which former function cannot be easily distinguished today when they are out of use and overgrown with wild vegetation. Understandably, the complexity of the pattern would be mostly influenced by the topography, so usually the finest examples are around the small settlements in topographically complex areas. These areas are very sensitive to both urban and vegetation succession: many of them have been built up from mid-20th C. onwards (especially the ones in the coastal strip), or overgrown and not easily recognizable, except on the older aerial imagery.

#### Individual enclosures – interchangeable use (Figure 3)

Individual enclosures protecting small pockets of productive land, or sometimes even an individual tree, are probably the most distinctive feature of Croatian Adriatic cultural landscape. Scattered over vast areas of barren karst (which has been used as an open pasture by default) they represent adaptation of it to crop growing. These enclosures were built to protect the crops from the grazing herds or from wild animals, but in the times of diminished agricultural activities, some of them were, and still sometimes are, used as a sheepfold, meadow or woodland. Even the remains of the Bronze or Iron age hillforts that are abundant in some parts of Istria and Dalmatia somewhere bear the

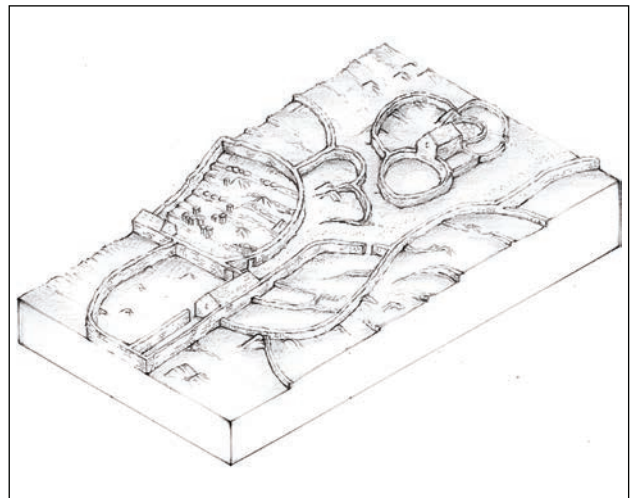


Figure 1: Illustration of micro-clusters (Anita Trojanović).

traces (single walls erected on the top of the ruined ramparts) of latter use by shepherders.

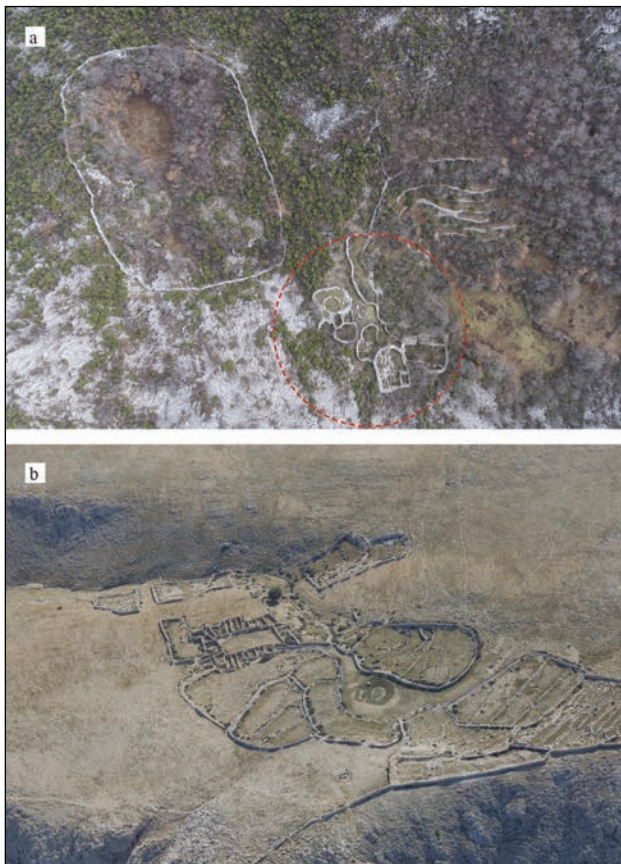
#### a) Enclosed dolines

The smallest type of enclosed fields are enclosed small dolines. These relief forms are in many ways suitable for agriculture, since they represent natural oasis of soil and microclimatic conditions i.e. moisture and shade. Somewhere they appear as parts of complex agricultural systems (as presented in the 'Enclosed fields' chapter) or are scattered over bare extensive pasture on plateaus or slopes (Figure 4a), even in the woods (Figure 4b). Vast stretches with thousands of scattered enclosed small sinkholes can be found in the mountain foothills, plateaus in some remote areas. One specific subtype are multiple enclosures with multifunctional use (Figures 4c and 4d). The bottom is used for fields, slopes (sometimes terraced) for vine, olive or pasture, a particular enclosure could be used as sheepfold, while on the rim, a simple dwelling or shelter can be found. These complex ensembles are usually set away from the main settlement as a temporary residence.

#### b) Individual enclosures on rocky terrain

In the times of heightened economic activity and 'hunger for land' (mostly during vine growing boom in the late 19th Century), even the rocky slopes near the settlements or near the previously reclaimed (enclosed) fertile land have also been enclosed and cleared - usually for more valuable crops like grapevine which could justify such an effort. Bigger-scale karst clearings are presented in the chapter 'Enclosed karst clearings for crops', but there are also individual or clustered clearings, from organic (Figures 4e to 4j) to more regular shape (Figure 4k), scattered over the communal pastures from which they have been originally taken over (legally or illegally). Some people from the foothill of Velebit remember that the enco-



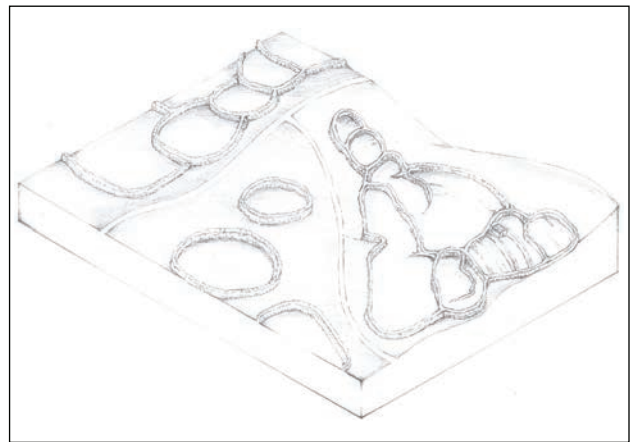


**Figure 2:** a) *Micro-cluster above the enclosed dolina, encircling the livestock stables - abandoned hilly area of Konavle (Photo: Anita Trojanović); a) Micro-cluster in the middle of an open pasture above the southern part of Baška valley (Krk island), embedded in the gully. The cluster is formed around the pond in the centre part of the depression and consists of terraced enclosures (abandoned) on the edge of it and multi-cellular sheepfold (mrgari) placed on the outer flattened edge. (Photo: Goran Andlar)*

tures at the locality Tršće (literally *The Vines*), initially made for vineyards, were used as a private pasture off the vegetational season, and later, after vineyards ceased to exist.

### c) Big sheepfolds

Besides the small sheepfolds that can be found within the micro-clusters, away from permanent settlements, one can recognize the big sheepfolds, visible in the landscape as separate objects. They are not very recognizable among the agricultural enclosures presented above, and not so common either, because big-number sheepherding that would require an enclosure for several hundred or more sheep was usually either a part of the late feudal coastal sheepherding economy (described by Kulušić, 1999, 67) today mostly neglected, or a part of the now diminished transhu-



**Figure 3:** *Illustration of variations of individual enclosures (Anita Trojanović).*

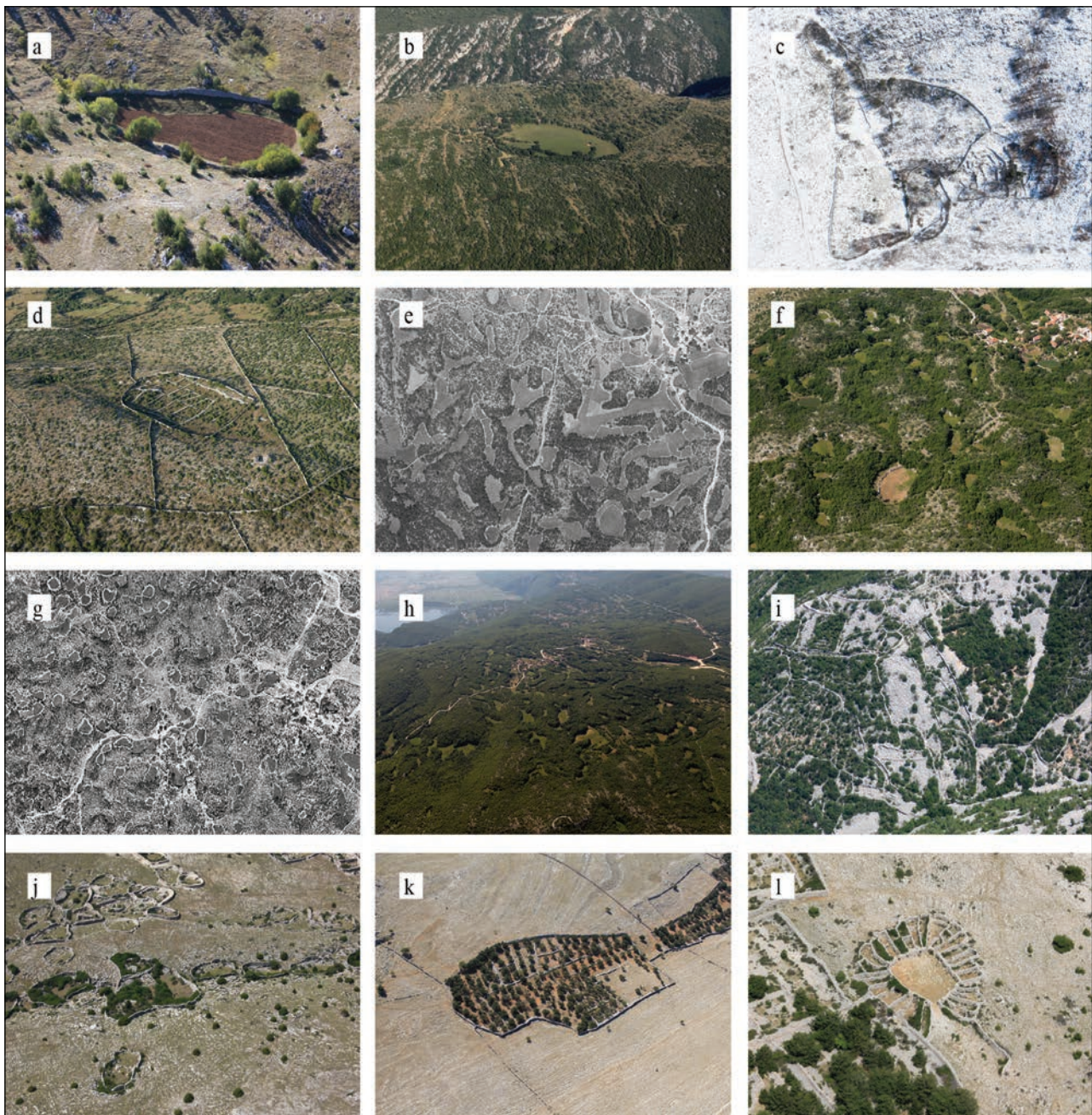
mant economy of higher parts of coastal mountains (described by Marković, 1980), where the main sheepfolds were mostly made of wood.

By far the most published sheepfolds, and probably among the most published dry-stone structures of Croatia in general are *mrgari*, the flower-shaped multicellular sheepfolds used for sorting out the sheep on the common pastures of Krk and Prvić islands, described by several authors (Fučić, 1998; Vinšćak, 2002; Horvatić, 2000 and 2010) (Figure 4). Similar multicellular structures of the same purpose, although not as big and prominent in landscape, can be found on a few other north Adriatic islands: *margari/mergari* of Cres (Jardas, 1964; Jurkota Rebrović, 2009), *zagoni* of Doli-Rab (Frangješ, 2013), *osici* of Pag island (the most notable is *Dudićev osik*, described by Kale, 2013) etc.

### Enclosed pastures

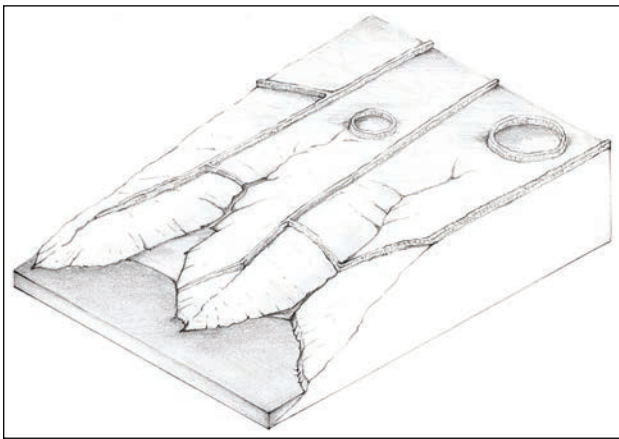
The two main forms of pastures on Croatian Adriatic are common pastures and private ones. Common pastures, or commons (*komunal*, *komunada*, *muša* itd.), are generally on the land of lowest quality, and, except for the stone walls that in some areas separate the commons belonging to different communities, they are not enclosed: other features such as fertile land, woodlands and private pastures are enclosed within them. On the other hand, private pastures are always enclosed, and their grids form the spatial framework for the rotational grazing practices which are especially common in the islands of Kvarner. These practices are based on transfer of herds from one enclosure to another, sometimes combined with collective summer grazing on the commons (for example on southern Krk). Kornati islands, on the other hand, are significant by the total absence of the commons, since all the land was purchased from ex-feudal owners by their former tenants from Murter and Dugi otok communities in the late 19th century. Water ponds



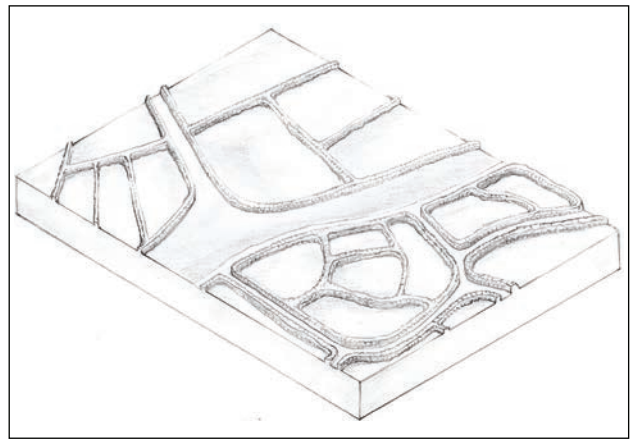


**Figure 4:** a) Individual enclosed field at the southern foothills slopes of Svilaja – Zelovo (Photo: Goran Andlar); b) Enclosed pasture with big pond and shepherds' shelter (Photo: Goran Andlar); c) Abandoned multi-enclosed karst depression, with multiple agro-silvo-pastoral use in the past - Konavoska brda, Velji do in Konavle (Photo: Anita Trojanović); d) Multiple enclosure for growing crops in the middle of pasture - Cres island (Photo: Goran Andlar); e) Complex system of individual stone wall enclosed-fields scattered between small hamlets on Poljica Koziička plateau near Vrgorac. The massive stone walls are clearly visible in the 1968 orthophoto (ISPU 2018) due to relatively active agriculture; f) The same area as in the previous photo today, partially abandoned and overgrown with woods (Photo: Goran Andlar); g) Complex system of enclosed dolines forming unusual irregular curved plots used for crops, Donji Proložac area, 1968 orthophoto (ISPU 2018); h) The same enclosures today only occasionally used for pasture and surrounded by woods (Photo: Goran Andlar); i) Individual enclosures on the rocky terrain at the foothill of Velebit mountain near Klada (Photo: Goran Andlar); j) Series of individual enclosures enclosing a karst gully and thus keeping the valuable soil from being washed off by sporadic streams - Krk island (Photo: Goran Andlar); k) Stone wall-enclosed karst depression with regular subdivisions, used for olive groves today - Željkovac, Kornat island (Photo: Goran Andlar); l) Mrgar on Krk island (Photo: Branka Aničić).





**Figure 5: Illustration of large scale pastures (Anita Trojanović).**



**Figure 6: Illustration of the small scale pastures (Anita Trojanović).**

scarcely scattered over the karst have immense importance for grazing and their distribution was often crucial for the shape of the enclosure anatomy on larger scale.

**a) Large scale patterns (Figure 5)**

The largest scale pasture division is, as mentioned previously, the one following the borders of different communes (today recognizable as cadastral communities on the map). In the border walls, one can often see bigger stones that could have been the boundary stones in the times of open pasture before the land divisions in the 18th and 19th Century. The next *level* are the boundaries of big private pastures that were either taken over from the commons (examples of Kvarner islands shown on Figures 7a and 7b) or purchased from the feudal landlord (the example of Kornat shown on Figure 7c) in the first phases of enclosing. In the narrower parts of Cres, Pag, Kornat, and many smaller islands, these long walls are parallel, reaching from one shore to another.

**b) Small scale patterns (Figure 6)**

Like the islands within the commons, often geometrically subdivided, there are many smaller private pastures. It is very easy to notice the better quality of grass (denoted by darker or more vivid colour on aerial photographs - Figures 7d, 7e and 7f) in the private enclosures compared to the one on the commons. The border is so sharp that the cause of the difference cannot be misinterpreted as a difference in the original soil substrate, but only as a different level of exploitation. On Krk island today, these enclosures are called *drmini* (please compare the chapter on enclosed woodlands).

**Enclosed woodlands (Figure 8)**

Enclosing of woodland, which was initiated by the state, was a widespread activity during the 19th

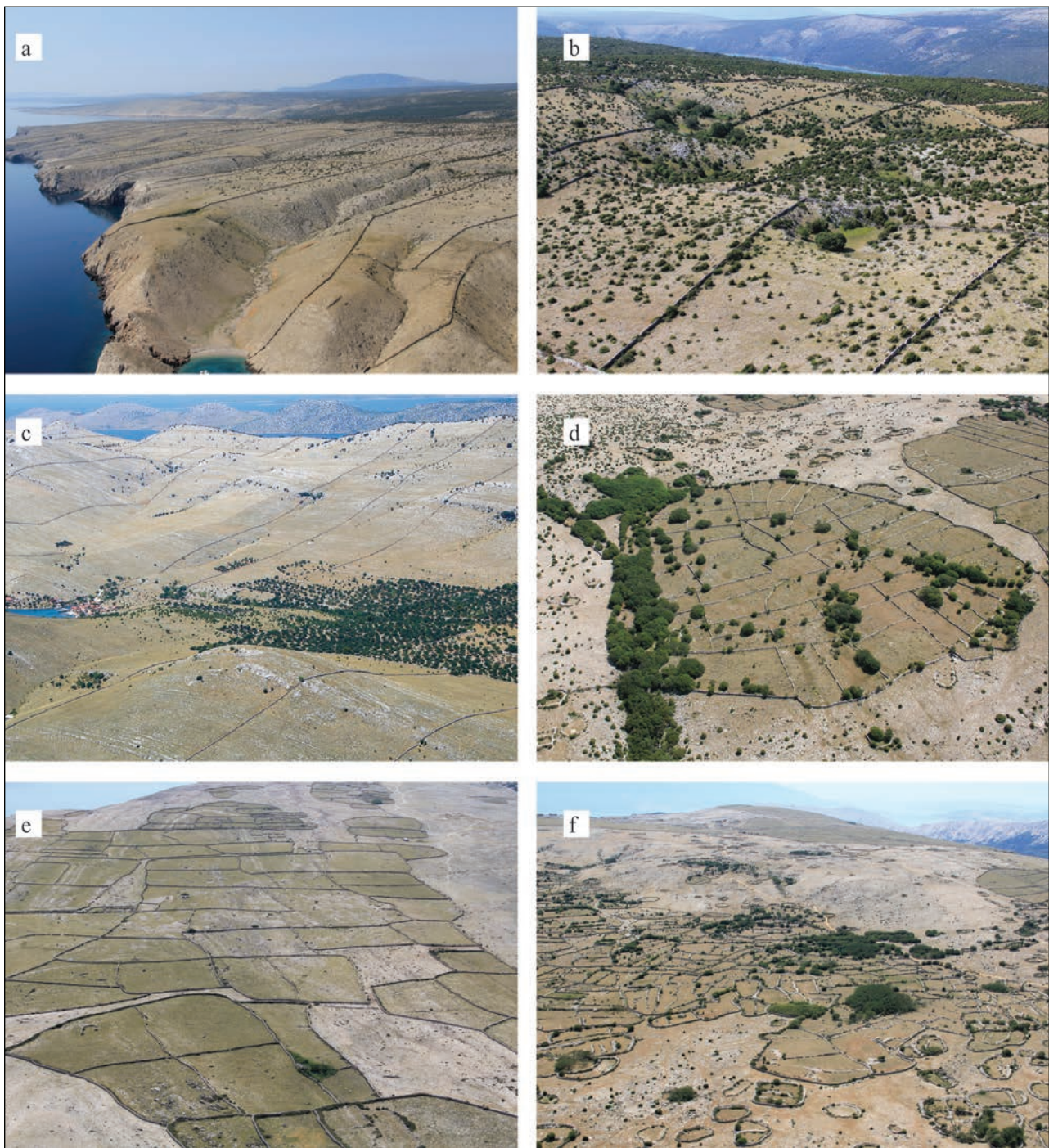
century in areas bared by overgrazing and thus threatened by erosion. Stone wall enclosing was necessary to prevent or control livestock movement. Although managed woods were established primarily for forest conservation and coppicing/pollarding, over time they would become used in a multifunctional way (agro-silvo-pastoral). The practice of managing and coppicing/pollarding woods is completely abandoned in Croatian Adriatic today, however, these enclosures are often used as pasture or livestock shelter.

It is important to say that abandoned smaller private pastures and especially the crop field plots (e.g. the ones in dolines) are getting overgrown with vegetation much more quickly than surrounding pasture. That's because of the better microclimate conditions (shelter from wind, moist, soil) and the initial presence of trees that were often planted in the edges of such plots. Therefore, those enclosures can be re-used as (or mistaken for) the enclosed woodlands. Usually the good source for determining the original use during the peak of traditional agricultural activities is the historical aerial photo from the late 1960ies or, even better, 1940ies, or the historical cadastral or topographic map from the second part of 19th century.

**a) Organic patterns**

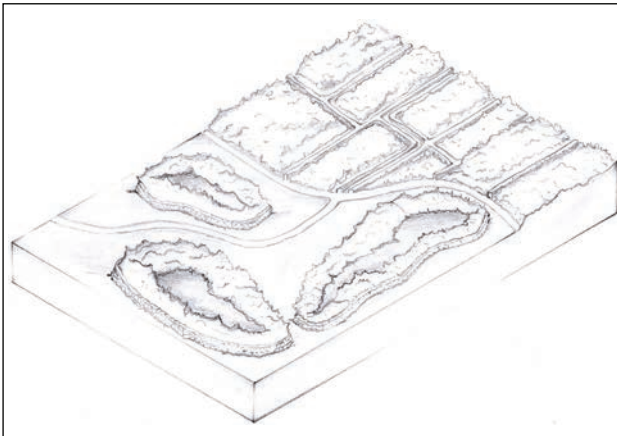
The irregular plot shape of an enclosure is the result of adaptation to the configuration of natural karst depressions which were more suitable for woodland enclosing. They are very common, in various patterns, all over the Adriatic hinterland (Dalmatinska zagora) and hilly mainland coast (Senj area), scattered in former open communal pastures in the second transhumance zone, at 500 – 800 m altitudes (*ograde* and *branjevine*). Although mainly fossil kind of landscape, these woodland patches are visible as strong accents in space, particularly in vast flattened areas (Figure 9a and 9b). It is noted that the word *drmun*, now used on Krk island mainly for private pastures, originate from Byzantine word *δρυμών* (*drymón*),



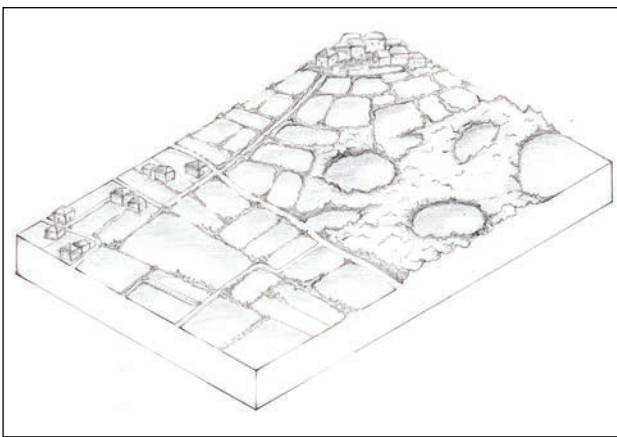


**Figure 7:** a) Large scale rectangular pastures on Cres island. Usually the pastures oriented towards the north are exposed to bora wind and consequently deprived of higher vegetation (Photo: Branka Aničić); b) Large scale rectangular pastures on Cres island. Southern pastures are usually richer in high vegetation. Small individual enclosed fields can be found scattered within the pastures (Photo: Goran Andlar); c) Large scale rectangular pastures on Kornat island (Photo: Goran Andlar); d) A pattern of small regular enclosures along the upper edge of the northern part of Baška valley (Krk island) located near the village, used as the winter pastures (Photo: Branka Aničić); e) As opposed to large scale patterns which dominate the whole Pag island, the area southern of Pag valley is characteristic for the small scale pastures of irregular to rectangular patterns, some of them locally called *lazi*, *lazine* (Photo: Goran Andlar); f) Characteristic enclosures of irregular oval pattern assembled within a larger karst depression (Krk island). Today these enclosures are mainly used as pastures, but in the past they were used as crop fields (Photo: Branka Aničić).





**Figure 8: Illustration of the enclosed woodlands (Anita Trojanović).**



**Figure 10: Illustration of enclosed fields on karst plateaus and flysch valleys (Anita Trojanović).**

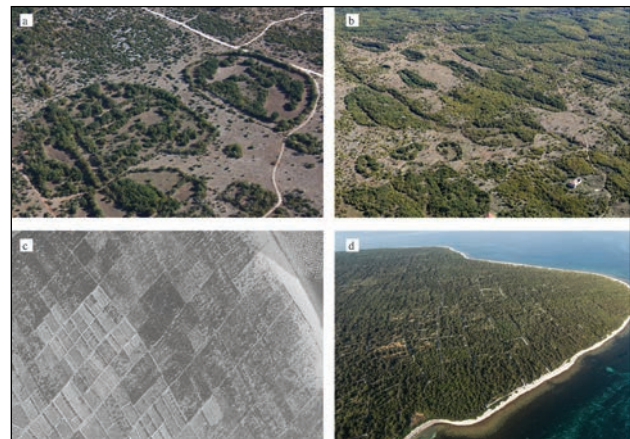
genitive plural form of δρυμός (drymós), meaning forest or park, which confirm interchangeable and complementary silvo-pastoral function of such enclosures.

#### **b) Rectangular patterns**

Olib, a small island in northern Dalmatia, is almost entirely characterized by rectangular dry-stone enclosures (Figure 9d). It is cited as a representative area of coppicing/pollarding woodland management (Bura, 1955). However, although Bura seems to identify all the dry-stone enclosures on Olib as the woodland ones, the analysis of historical cadastral map and aerial photo suggests that only several wide strips along the coast were enclosed for that purpose. The character of dry-stone structure confirms that conclusion (Figure 9c).

#### **Enclosed fields**

The term 'field' denotes relatively larger areas of naturally accumulated soil used for cultivating crops



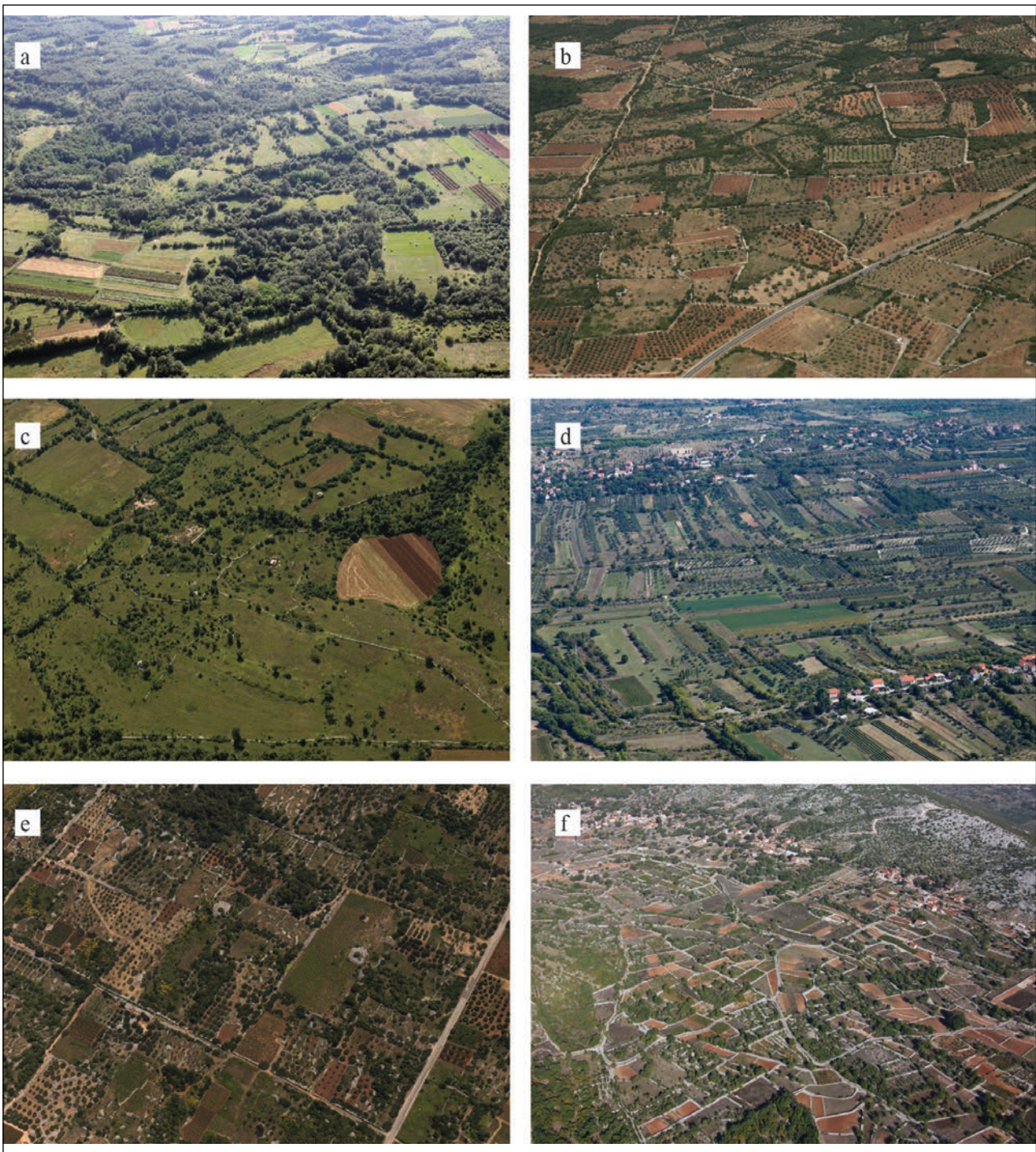
**Figure 9: a) Silvo pastoral stone wall enclosures on northern Dalmatian karst plateau (Photo: Goran Andlar); b) A large number of woodland enclosures scattered on the plateau between Svilaja mountain and Peruča lake; c) Enclosed coppiced woodlands (*Quercus Ilex*) on the coastal side of Olib island characteristic for thinner stone walls enclosing larger plots, as opposed to smaller enclosures with massive stone walls being crop clearings (ISPU, 2018); d) Same area today - abandoned fossil cultural landscape (Photo: Goran Andlar).**

and where the cultivation is primarily achieved through ploughing. They cover various shapes and sizes of karst depressions (karst valleys, river valleys, karst poljes, uvalas and dolines) and vast flattened areas (karst plateaus) which were in many ways suitable for development of settlements, agriculture and important routes. Due to agricultural suitability land uses are diverse (arable crops, vegetable crops, fruits, meadows, pastures) with long-lasting historical use. Significant number of the fields in the Croatian Adriatic are enclosed, more with stone walls than with hedges.

#### **a) Semi enclosed fields on karst plateaus (top right in Figure 10)**

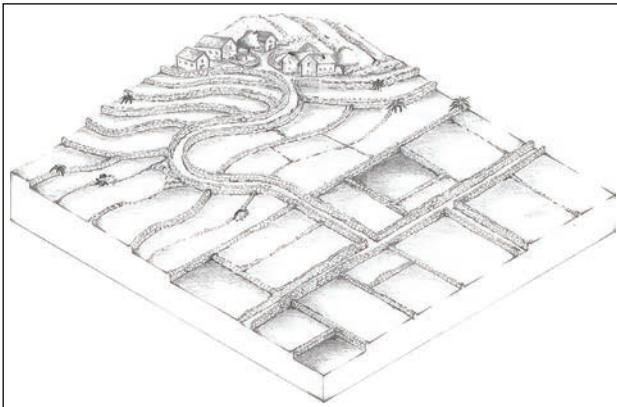
This category is identified with the so-called Red Istria, respectively with the Istrian karst plateau specific for its flatness, numerous small dolines, deeper layer of soil (terra rosa) and dense natural vegetation. Thus, the particular field system has developed here, manifested as a combination of open and enclosed fields (stone walls and hedges) with mixed agro-silvo-pastoral use (Figure 11a, 11b and 11c). The field pattern is seemingly irregular, the combination of oval enclosed dolines and irregular geometric fields. However, on the higher organizational level, the influence of ancient Roman regular raster along with typical radial organisation of central Istria rural landscape is evident. The latter is manifested as central nucleated settlement on a mound, surrounded by a belt of open fields, followed by a larger belt consisting of scattered oval enclosed dolines, irregular flattened field and pastures enclosures and wood patches.



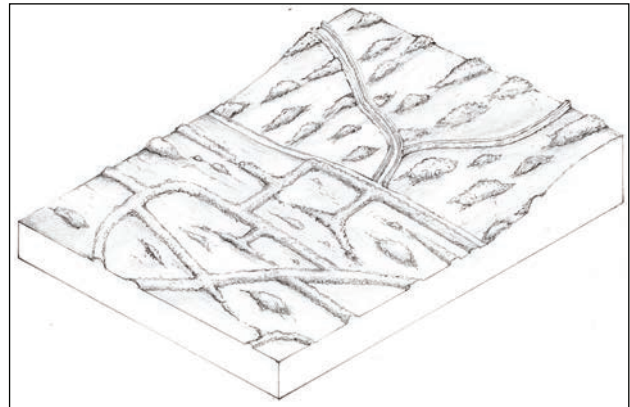


**Figure 11:** a) Combination of enclosed sinkholes, open fields of geometrical patterns and bosket patches - Red Istria near Žminj (Photo: Goran Andlar); b) Stone wall-enclosed olive groves of irregular geometric pattern but with visible rectilinear axis preserved from ancient Romans times - Red Istria near Vodnjan (Photo: Goran Andlar); c) The detailed image showing the archetype situation of enclosed field in a sinkhole, surrounded by bosket and semi enclosed fields with stone walls and hedges, with two stone wall shelters (kažuni). Red Istria near Vodnjan (Photo: Goran Andlar); d) Combination of open and enclosed strip pattern-fields with mixed use - Dubravice valley near lower river Krka (Photo: Goran Andlar); e) Stone wall-enclosed fields of regular pattern - Stari Grad plain, Hvar island (Photo: Goran Andlar); f) Stone wall-enclosed and terraced fields of irregular pattern at the foot of scattered hamlets - Dalmatinska zagora, Ljubitovica (Photo: Goran Andlar).

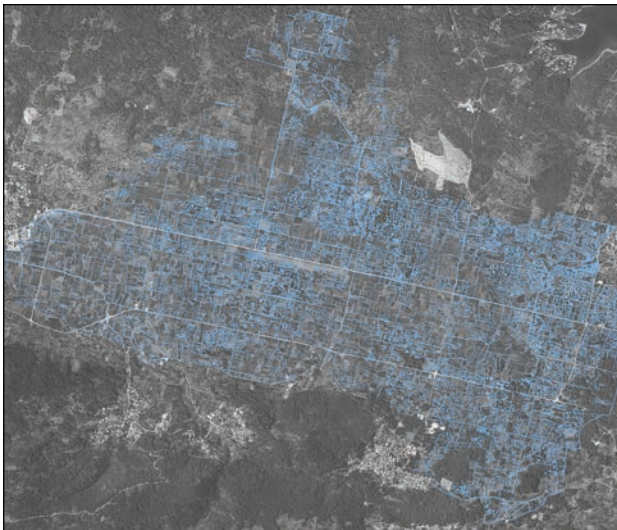




**Figure 12: Illustration of enclosed terraced fields (Andlar et al., 2017).**



**Figure 14: Illustration of enclosed karst clearings for crops of organic pattern (Anita Trojanović).**



**Figure 13: GIS map of stone walls in Stari grad plain (Bedalov et al., 2017).**

**b) Semi enclosed strip fields in flysch valleys (bottom left in Figure 10)**

Typical for Ravni kotari area geomorphologically characteristic for alternation of flysch valleys and limestone uplifts manifested as gently undulating relief with small altitude difference from 100 to 150 m. Limestone areas are typical karst, scarce areas, while flysch valley are fertile being rich with water and soil. Thus, the fields are mostly related to flysch valleys and the linear dispersed settlements developed on southern slopes of the flysch/karst transitions. More hedges, less stone wall enclosed field can be found on the sloping side of valley, while the bottom is more characteristic for strip pattern vertically or parallel laid on the valley direction. Due to settlement proximity, mixed uses are typical.

**c) Enclosed terraced fields: wide regular patterns (bottom right in Figure 12)**

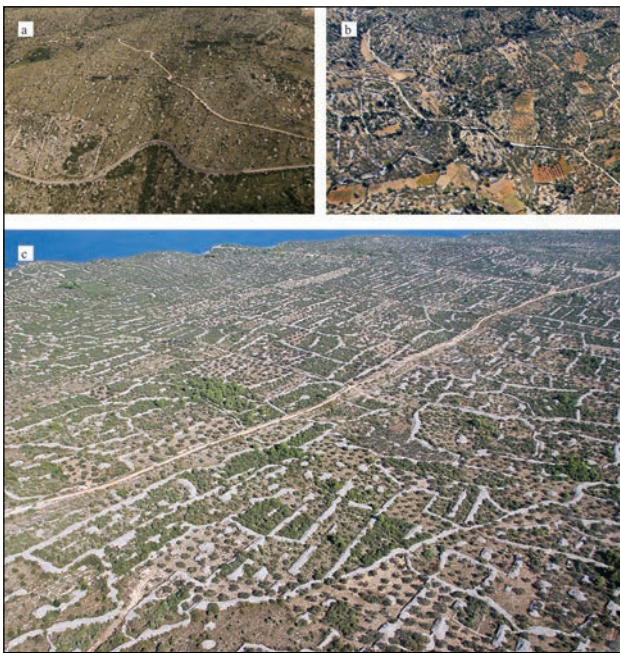
Wide regular-pattern terraced fields in karst poljes and river valleys as described in Andlar et al. (2017) are associated with large karst depressions with shallow terracing and with mildly undulating bottoms. Due to their spaciousness and gentle slopes, regular (sometimes planned) patterns are common (Andlar et al., 2017). The enclosed fields are common but usually combined with low height terraces, forming a mixed crop system defined by the proximity of settlements and a complex history (Andlar et al., 2017). Such example is Stari Grad Plain on the island of Hvar, where the UNESCO-listed geometrical land division system established by the ancient Greeks is still agriculturally active today (Figure 11e). This geometrical system is today mostly manifested in shallowly terraced and highly fragmented small scale dry stone wall enclosures. The intensity of fragmentation and amount of stone walls can be seen in the GIS map (Figure 13); an area of 1.376 ha counting cca 205 ha of stone piles and massive walls, and cca 420 km of stone walls.

**d) Enclosed terraced fields: wide irregular patterns (top left in Figure 12)**

Wide irregular-pattern terraced fields in karst uvalas and large dolines, as described in Andlar et al. (2017), are associated with moderate-sized karst depressions with pronounced relief and consequently irregular and organic terrace and enclosures patterns (Figure 11f). This is a typical rural landscape pattern in the Adriatic hinterland; it involves various land uses with mixed crops and is related to small nucleated or scattered settlements and hamlets located above the field (Andlar et al., 2017).

**Enclosed karst clearings for crops**

Unlike enclosed fields, this type is defined by rocky substrate with scarce or absent soil, and it is found on

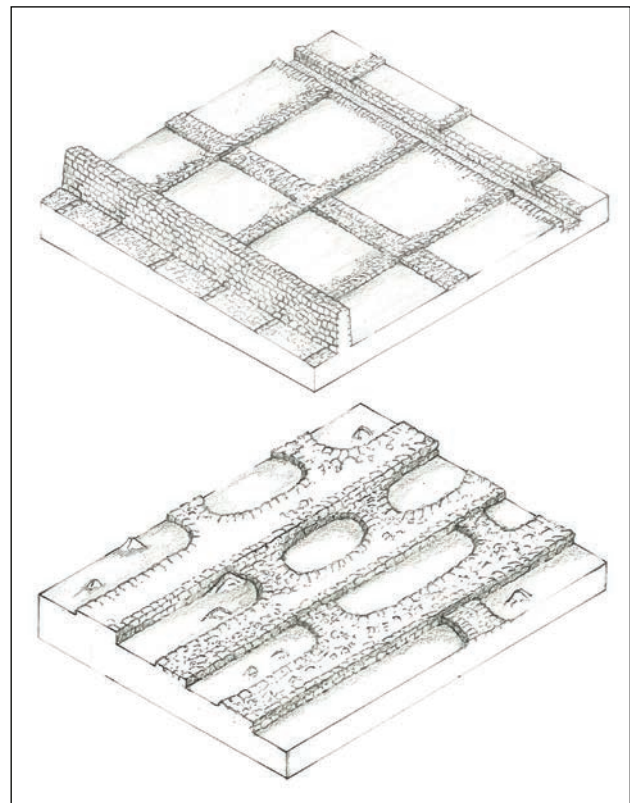


**Figure 15:** a) Irregular stone wall enclosures with inner ellipsoid shaped piles - fire-struck area in the hinterland of Milna on Brač island (Photo: Goran Andlar); b) Irregular stone wall enclosed olive groves with the piles more spontaneously laid out than in the previous example, also on Brač island (Photo: Goran Andlar); c) Irregular stone wall enclosures and stone piles – Modrave (Photo: Goran Andlar).

flattened to mildly sloped areas. In such conditions, the cultivation was dominantly determined by stone removal and stacking in walls and piles, and thus creating small fragmented patches of soil for crop growing. In the absence of soil, it would be brought from the surrounding areas. The karst clearing enclosure type is highly represented in the Croatian Adriatic. Its greater emergence is mostly related to periods of karst bonification and specific economic conditions that pushed the cultivation of such extremely harsh environment: mostly vine or the olive monoculture that could economically justify the effort of clearing the karst.

#### a) Organic patterns (Figure 14)

A very representative type on the study area, typical for flattened to mildly sloped karst areas whereas the stone was stacked in field boundaries and piles, while the terracing was not so common (Figure 15c). The characteristic organic, spontaneous pattern is probably the result of initial cultivation for old grapevine cultivars and olive, which tolerate irregularly shaped plots and rockiness. Along with stone walls boundaries, the great diversity of piles with various shapes and layout (detached, as boundary, regular and irregular patterns) and functions (including vineyard-keeping posts, catching birds etc.). Representative area of this type are the Brač island olive groves (Figure 15a and 15b).



**Figure 16:** Illustrations of enclosed karst clearings of regular pattern (Anita Trojanović).

#### b) Rectangular patterns (Figure 16)

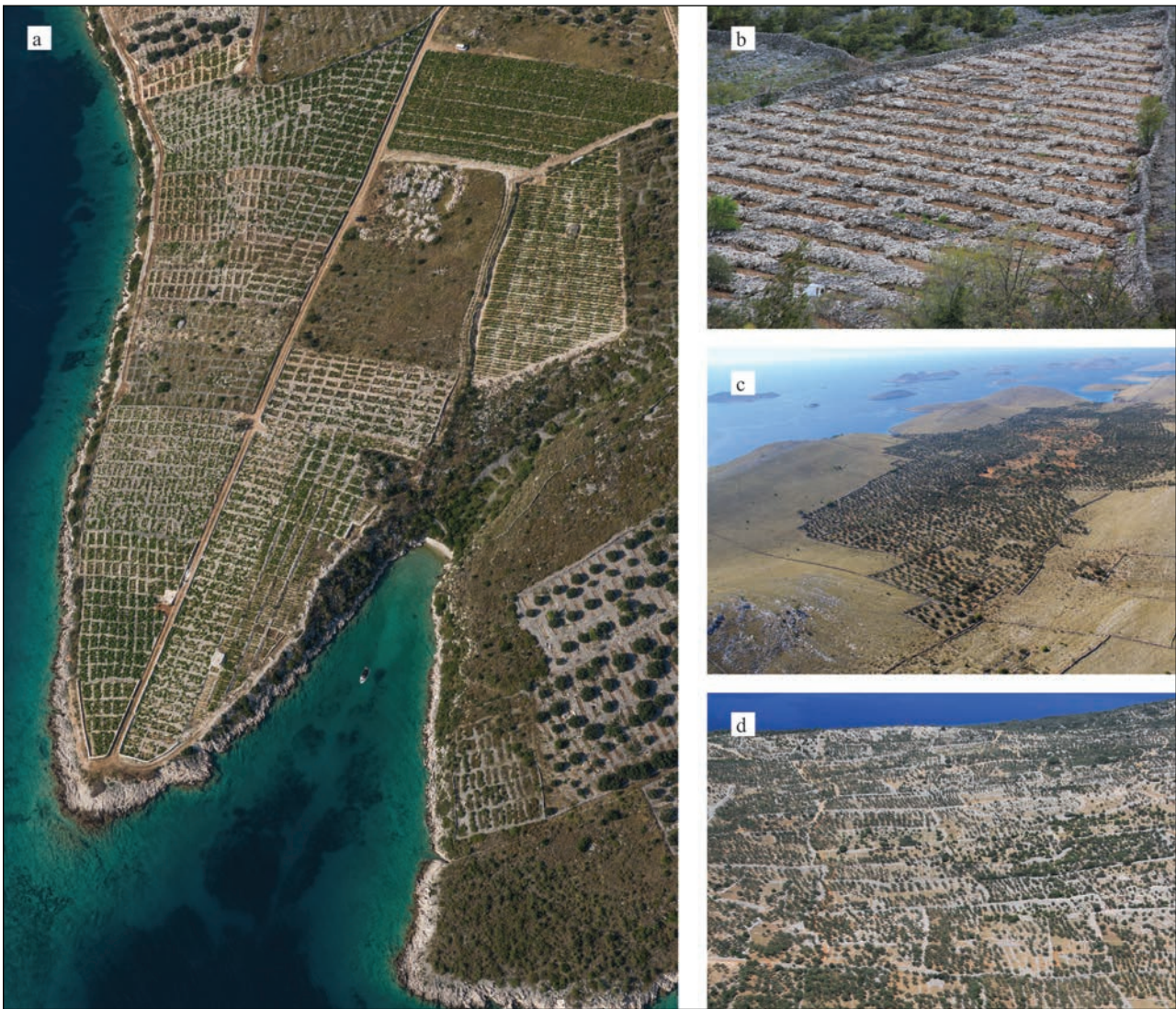
The variation of previous type, but specific for the irregular plot pattern (Figures 17a to 17d). The regularity can be related to initial cultivation of vine and to some economic, social or environmental conditions such as organised clearing and enclosing of the land (Figure 17a), but also the configuration of relief etc. For example, the regularity of the pattern increases along with the pitch of the terrain, so this type of enclosures is often a transitional category between enclosure and terrace (Figure 17d).

The particularly interesting is the case of olive groves surrounding the town of Cres and Cres bay on the eponymous island, counting 100.000 olive trees (300.000 in the past) within the area of 2.3 ha. The whole area is intensively divided with stone wall enclosures in various regular and irregular patterns (Figure 18). This large olive grove is in fact a rare agro-pastoral system where sheep graze freely and simultaneously manure the olives.

#### c) Pockmarked karst enclosures (Figure 19)

Pockmarked karst (*ljut*, *ljutina*, *jut*) is found on flattened to mildly sloped terrain and is characteristic for its rockiness and grit stone substrate deprived of soil. This is an extremely inaccessible and harsh environment which strongly limits the human interventions to





**Figure 17:** a) Regular plot is subdivided by the rectangular raster of small enclosed and shallowly terraced vineyards (*vlačice*). The most famous such landscape is Bucavac vineyard (Photo: Goran Andlar); b) Similar vineyard patterns can be found in the vast area of Primošten and Trogir hinterland - Blizna (Photo: Goran Andlar); c) Olive grove enclosures of regular pattern surrounded with pastures - Kornat island (Photo: Goran Andlar); d) Olive groves surrounding the town of Cres form one of the biggest olive growing areas in Croatian Adriatic. Various stone wall patterns can be found; in the flattened areas closer to town, rectangular patterns are typical (Photo: Goran Andlar).

mere clearing the natural voids in the rock, slightly reshaping them and filling with soil in order to grow, usually individual, plant (olive, grape, fig, cherry tree). The terrain modelling was almost impossible, stone walls were rare and used only for enclosing the plot. The excess stone was thrown on spontaneous piles. The shape of enclosed plot is adopted to terrain and stone configuration (Figures 20a, 20b and 20c). This kind of land use can be found along the Croatian Adriatic as a microlocation phenomenon (not particularly related only to pockmarked karst), but only on the Konstanjska Ljut area it is present within the area large

enough to form a specific type (class), with the local name *pasike* (Figure 20).

## CONCLUSION

This paper is conceptually and methodologically a sequel to the previously published paper on terraced landscapes of the Croatian Adriatic. The main contribution of the paper is to show the diversity of enclosed landscapes of the Croatian Adriatic region and to present an original classification followed by standardized nomenclature that acknowledges their



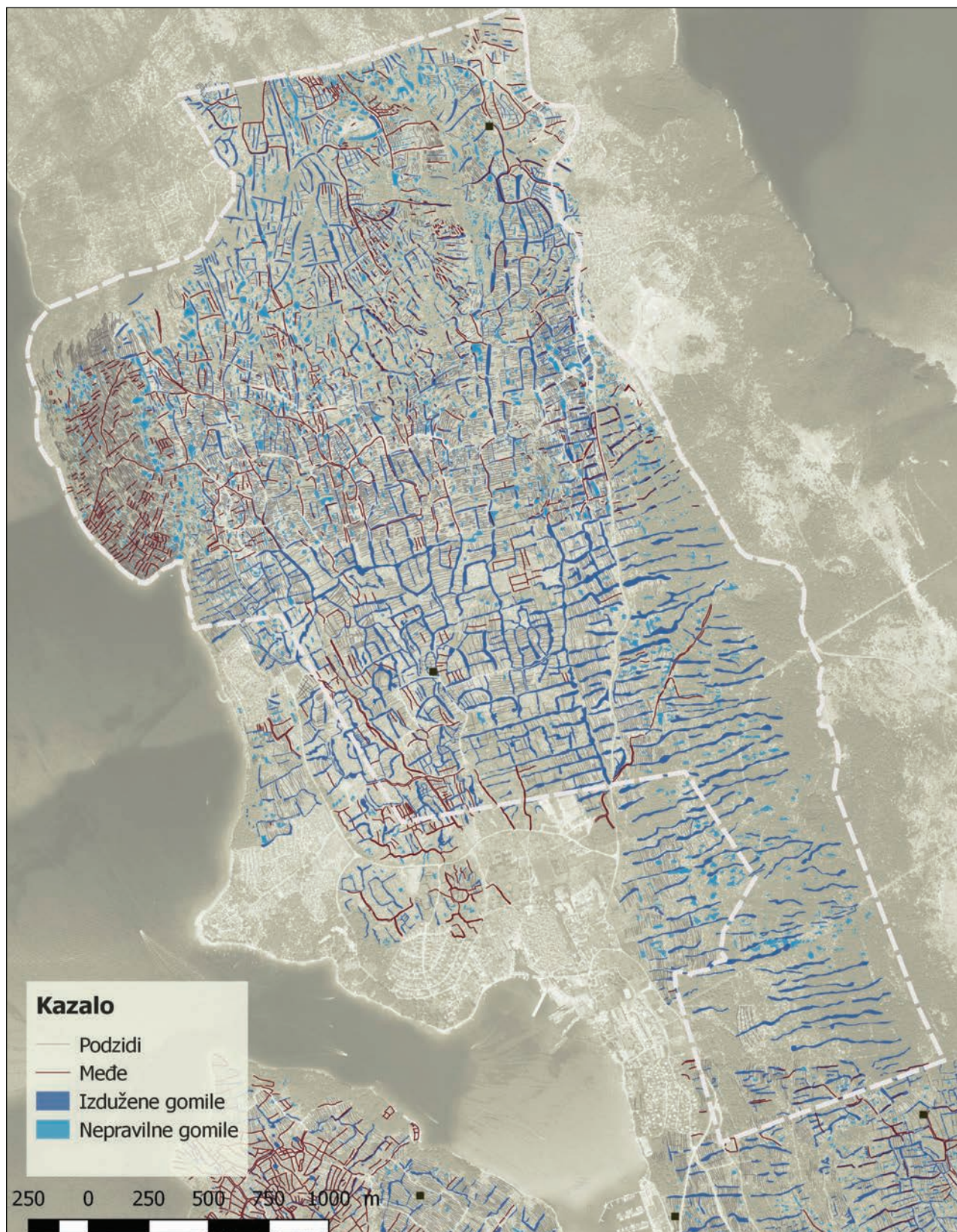
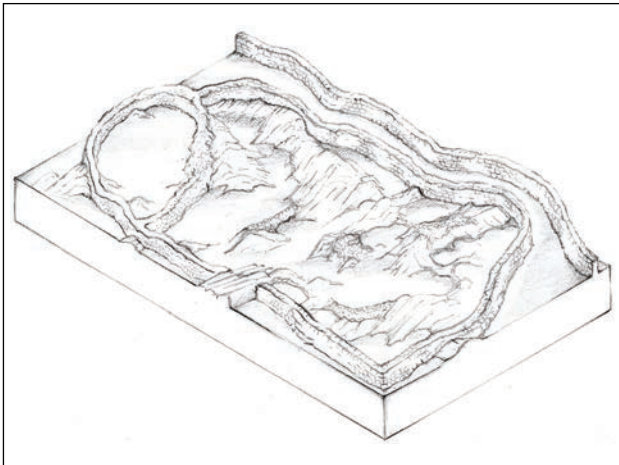


Figure 18: GIS map of stone walls in Cres olive groves showing 304 km of retaining stone walls, 60 km of stone wall field boundaries, 124 ha of elongated regular stone piles and 35 ha of irregular stone piles.





**Figure 19: Illustration of pockmarked karst enclosures (Anita Trojanović).**

functional and structural features and which should facilitate further interdisciplinary research, comparisons between different case studies and creating databases.

The classification resulted from adoption and elaboration of framework presented in Andlar and Aničić (2018) and using the description and presentation model from Andlar et al. (2017). In comparison to Andlar and Aničić (2018) the subclasses are herein thoroughly described. Same as in Andlar et al. (2017) the description was based on 'landscape pattern' concept - the synthesis of information on land use, land structure, geomorphology, soil, agricultural practices and economic history. The description also pointed out the subclass' spatial distribution, and was followed by particular examples, photos and illustrations. The enclosed landscapes are recognised within five main classes of (agri)cultural landscape (*pastures, managed woodlands, karst clearings for crops, terraces, fields*). In addition, the new main classes are identified here; *micro-clusters* and *individual enclosures*. These are distinctive classes which can be associated with various land uses and as such they could have been extracted as separate subclass within *pastures, managed woodlands, terraces* and *fields*. But due to their strong visual distinctiveness and functional self-sufficiency, they form a unique microsystem phenomenon that should be interpreted separately. Altogether, six general classes have been recognised and fourteen sub-classes (there is an indication of a large number of variables of each class unlocking the great potential for further research and registration/mapping particular examples along researched area).

The facts presented in the previous paragraph indicate great diversity and presence of enclosed landscape, and thus confirm the research hypothesis. The extremely complex topographic situation of the Adri-



**Figure 20: a) Olive grove enclosures on the pockmarked karst on a small mound; natural rocks are complimented with piled stones thusly forming small plots for an individual olive (Photo: Goran Andlar); b) Vineyard enclosure on the pockmarked karst in a shallow sinkhole (Photo: Goran Andlar); c) The most active enclosures on the pockmarked karst are those next to the village, in this case village Kostanje (Photo: Goran Andlar).**

atic Croatia is probably the basic reason for the complexity of its cultural landscapes, since the general cultivation methods have been pretty much basic and similar throughout the Mediterranean, even through time. Different shapes and different dispositions of the cropland and livestock enclosures are the consequence of the different local topographic conditions; to maximise the effect of the hard work of building dry-stone walls, man had to engage as much of the natural configuration as possible into the landscape layout. The best example are the enclosed dolines or sinkholes, sometimes ridiculously small, scattered in different formations over the rocky hills or grouped in the mountain valleys. Additionally, local agricultural practices and the distinct topography created a wide range of different micro-structural types and forms while the numerous and diverse names for the same or similar forms and the same names for various forms can be interpreted as a result of a multivariate and dynamic cultural and historical context.

After the research done on both terraced and enclosed landscapes of Croatian Adriatic, we would like to emphasize that the dichotomy, which has become common in the study of dry-stone landscapes, doesn't really fit the immense complexity of cultural landscapes of this area, where 'enclosed' and 'terraced' generally come together, interwoven and complemented by diverse forms and patterns of stone deposit heaps within the parcels - in the way that one can hardly compare to any other region in the world.

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## ODKRIVANJE KULTURNE KRAJINE NA HRVAŠKEM: ZGODOVINA IN KLASIFIKACIJA HRVAŠKE JADRANSKE OGRAJENE KRAJINE

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### POVZETEK

*Hrvaški Jadran je tipična regija s suhimi zidovi. Ključna značilnost njenih podeželskih območij je nizka intenziteta kraškega poljedelstva za katero je značilno razdrobljeno zemljišče ograjeno s suhimi zidovi. Prisotnost, gostota in raznovrstnost krajin ograjenih s zidovi predstavljajo veliko dediščino, gospodarski, turistični in ekološki potencial, vendar niso dovolj prisotni v ustreznih sektorskih politikah in so do zdaj splošno neznani širši in strokovni javnosti. Zato je v tem strokovnem spisu predstavljena različnost hrvaških primorskih ograjenih krajin skozi njihovo klasifikacijo in zgodovino. Uporabljen je model »krajinskega vzorca« - sinteza informacij o rabi zemljišča, strukturi zemljišča, geomorfologiji, tleh, kmetijskih praksah in gospodarski zgodovini. Rezultat je izveden na osnovi dolgotrajnih raziskav, ki so vključevale terensko delo, dokumentacijo posnetkov na zemlji in letalskih posnetkov, raziskovanje krajinske zgodovine, izdelavo in analizo različnih prostorskih in kartografskih GIS podatkov. Spoznanih je šest splošnih razredov (mikro-klasteri, posamezne ograde, upravljani gozdovi, pašniki, polja in kraške krčevine za pridelke), ter štirinajst podrazredov, opisanih in predstavljenih z ilustracijami, fotografijami in GIS podatki.*

**Ključne besede:** kulturna krajina, ograjena krajina, ograda, suhi zid, hrvaški Jadran, zgodovina krajine

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FOOD SOVEREIGNTY AND THE REGENERATION OF TERRACED  
LANDSCAPES

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## ABSTRACT

*The emerging food sovereignty paradigm offers a viable alternative for food, farming and well-being in terraced landscapes and the territories they are embedded in. This paper first defines ‘food sovereignty’ and briefly describes the origins and history of this policy framework for food and agriculture. The second part of this paper then discusses some of the key ecological, economic, political and social challenges for the spread of food sovereignty to more people and places. The paper argues that by putting farmers and other people at the centre, food sovereignty can allow the historically important architects and custodians of terraced landscapes to regenerate local ecologies, economies, and cultures as part of a new modernity.*

**Keywords:** food sovereignty, terraced landscapes, agroecology and circular systems, local economic regeneration, democracy, redefining modernity and well being

## SOVRANITÀ ALIMENTARE E RIGENERAZIONE DEI PAESAGGI TERRAZZATI

## SINTESI

*Il paradigma emergente della sovranità alimentare offre valide alternative per il cibo, l'agricoltura e il benessere nei territori e nei paesaggi terrazzati. Questo articolo definisce innanzitutto la “sovranità alimentare” e descrive brevemente le origini e la storia di questo quadro politico per il cibo e l'agricoltura. La seconda parte di questo articolo è una discussione sulle principali sfide ecologiche, politiche e sociali per la diffusione della sovranità alimentare. Nell'articolo si sostiene che mettendo al centro gli agricoltori e le persone in generale, la sovranità alimentare può fornire agli architetti e ai guardiani storicamente importanti dei paesaggi terrazzati di rigenerare le ecologie, le economie e le culture locali come parte di una nuova modernità.*

**Parole chiave:** sovranità alimentare, paesaggi terrazzati, agroecologia e sistemi circolari, rigenerazione economica locale, democrazia, ridefinire modernità e benessere

## INTRODUCTION

Terracing, which is basically grading steep land such as hillsides into a series of level benches (or steps), was known in antiquity. Historically, it was practiced thousands of years ago in widely different areas such as Central Africa and the Philippines. Terraced agriculture has taken many forms during agriculture's long history and continues to be a prominent method for food growing today. Some of the better-known forms of terraced agriculture come from South America, where people such as the Inca successfully developed and practiced it for centuries (Denevan, 2001). Many of the mountainous regions of Asia also have an extensive history of terraced agricultural systems. The Hani of Yunnan Province in Southern China, for example, have for centuries incorporated terraced food production within the forested ecosystem of the Ailao Mountains (UNESCO, 2018). In Java (Indonesia), animal husbandry and vegetable growing are integrated in a steep, artificially terraced environment where gravity, gradient, and water flow help disperse nutrients throughout the food system in upland areas. And in ancient Mediterranean agricultural landscapes with features such as dry stonewalls and terraces are linked with the agricultural roots of most modern Mediterranean societies (Bevan and Conolly, 2011; Kizos and Koulouri, 2006).

Terraced landscapes everywhere reflect the interaction between nature and people, as well as between the past and present. As co-constructions by people and nature in specific places, terraced landscapes embody the knowledge, skills, and labour of local communities as well as the past and present actions of the earth, air, water, plants and animals. As producers of what are often aesthetically beautiful multifunctional landscapes, rural people who co-create terraces are simultaneously architects, builders, engineers, farmers, and artists (Figure 1). Indeed, the renewal and sustainability of terraced landscapes intimately depends on the continued presence and actions of farmers and rural people in these cultural landscapes.

However, terraced landscapes are in decline today with the outward migration of rural communities who have, historically, been the architects of these cultural landscapes. In Europe for example, terraced landscapes have been eroded or abandoned due to changes in land use management caused by technological developments and the influence of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) (MacDonald et al., 2000). Under the CAP, the commercialisation and industrialisation of agriculture have increased productivity and focused agricultural activity on more fertile and accessible land. In many areas this has led to a decline in traditional labour intensive practices and marginal agricultural land is being abandoned in terraced landscapes.

This post-war trend of agricultural abandonment in Western Europe has been particularly marked in moun-

tain areas (MacDonald et al., 2000). A recent inter-ministerial study has shown that this trend is speeding up in counties like France where 10 000 farmers *per* year leave farming before reaching retirement age (this represents one third of the total number of farmers who quit farming every year). At the same time, young people are unable to enter farming or find it hard to do so whilst retired farmers receive a very small pension (ASP, 2016). The reasons for leaving farming in France are similar to those squeezing producers out of food and agriculture in many other parts of the world: i) banks refusing to give loans; lack of cash; inability to reimburse money borrowed for farm investments; ii) impacts of multiple crisis (climate change, illnesses, market volatility...) *"Farm enterprises are less and less able to absorb impacts of two consecutive years of crisis"* (ASP, 2016); iii) isolation; lack of recognition; insufficient income for long day's work; and suicides as a major cause of farmer death before retirement age (ASP, 2016).

This reduction of the number of farmers in terraced landscapes and elsewhere is associated with increasingly unsustainable food, farming and land use practices. According to several international reports like the IAASTD (2009) *"Business as usual is no longer an option"* because i) all relevant biophysical indicators are turning negative, fast, steeply, dangerously; ii) the emerging context is beyond human experience; and iii) the costs of mitigation, adaptation, remediation are rising sharply (IAASTD, 2009; MEA, 2005; UNCTAD, 2013).

The starting point of this paper is that fundamental reversals in policy and practice are urgently needed to sustain the multiple benefits and functions of terraced landscapes. I argue that the emerging food sovereignty paradigm offers a viable alternative for food, farming and well-being in terraced landscapes and the territories they are embedded in. By putting farmers and other people at the centre, food sovereignty can allow historically important architects and custodians of terraced landscapes to regenerate local ecologies, economies, and cultures as part of a new modernity.

After briefly describing the history of food sovereignty and its key features, I discuss some of the challenges that will need to be addressed for a widespread shift to food sovereignty in different contexts.

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF FOOD SOVEREIGNTY

Throughout the world, farmer organisations, indigenous peoples, civil society and new social movements—rather than academics or professional policy think tanks—are the prime movers behind a newly emerging food sovereignty policy framework. This alternative policy framework for food and agriculture is also a citizens' response to the multiple social and environmental crises induced by modern food systems. These multiple crises have been described in great detail in several reports which all call for fundamental and urgent changes in



1a



1b



1c



1d



1e



1f

**Figure 1:** Terraces built and maintained by rural people using their knowledge and skills as landscape architects, engineers, farmers, water harvesters, natural resource managers, and artists: 1a: China – Yuanyang – Red River; 1b: Indonesia – Bali; 1c: Philippines – Ifugao – repairing rice terraces before planting the seedlings; 1d: Peru – Tapon – water works; 1e: Slovenia – Goriška Brda; 1f: France – Rhone – Hermitage (Photo credits Timmi Tilmann).



food and agriculture to eradicate hunger and achieve other Sustainable Development Goals (e.g. IAASTD, 2009; FAO, 2018).

The term food sovereignty was first brought to international attention at the World Food Summit organised by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation in 1996. It was put forward by *La Vía Campesina*<sup>1</sup> an international movement which co-ordinates organisations of small and medium-sized producers, agricultural workers, rural women, and indigenous communities from Asia, America, and Europe. During the 1996 World Food Summit, *Vía Campesina* presented a set of mutually supportive principles as an alternative to the world trade policies and to realise the human right to food. In their statement, *Food Sovereignty: A Future Without Hunger* (1996), they declared that “*Food Sovereignty is a precondition to genuine food security*” (La Vía Campesina, 1996).

Since 1996, subsequent declarations and documents by *La Vía Campesina* and other organisations have built on these principles (see Pimbert, 2008). For example in 2007, the Nyéléni Forum on Food Sovereignty in Mali brought together 600 representatives of family farmers,<sup>2</sup> indigenous peoples, landless people, migrants, pastoralists, forest communities and artisanal fishers, as well as civil society organisations, academics and researchers, rural workers, youth organisations, consumers, environmental and urban movements from more than 80 countries. The Nyéléni Declaration affirms the centrality and primacy of ‘peoples’<sup>3</sup> in framing policies and practices for food, agriculture, environment and human well-being:

*Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. It puts those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations. It defends the interests and inclusion of the next generation. It offers a strategy to resist and dismantle the current corporate trade and food regime, and directions for food, farming, pastoral and fisheries systems determined by local producers. Food sovereignty prioritizes local and national economies and markets and empowers peasant and family farmer-driven agriculture, ar-*

*tisanal fishing, pastoralist-led grazing, and food production, distribution and consumption based on environmental, social and economic sustainability. Food sovereignty promotes transparent trade that guarantees just incomes to all peoples as well as the rights of consumers to control their food and nutrition. It ensures that the rights to use and manage lands, territories, waters, seeds, livestock and biodiversity are in the hands of those of us who produce food. Food sovereignty implies new social relations free of oppression and inequality between men and women, peoples, racial groups, social and economic classes and generations* (<https://nyeleni.org>).

Over the last two decades, the concept and practices of food sovereignty have thus been discussed, debated and defended under the leadership of *La Vía Campesina*, and with the support of a growing number of other organisations, social movements and citizens throughout the world (Desmarais and Nicholson, 2013). However, many of the central ideas of ‘food sovereignty’ build on a long tradition of agrarian history and peasant struggles. Historically, various strands of agrarian social thought have also influenced the theory and practice of food sovereignty – and continue to do so today. These influences include (Pimbert, 2018):

- agrarian collectivism, as well as social anarchism and libertarian socialist thought – all of which view peasants as progressive agents of change;
- Marx’s view that capitalism induces a fundamental metabolic rift between society and nature;
- peasant studies and agrarian social theory; and
- post-development theory.

These traditions of radical thought have deeply influenced peasant struggles for self-determination and the right to food sovereignty. For example, Proudhon’s ‘principle of federation’ and Bakunin’s proposals on collectivist anarchism informed the consciousness and agency of an impoverished peasantry in Spain. During the Spanish civil war (1936–1939), the peasants of Andalusia and Aragon established communal systems of land tenure in a range of terraced landscapes. In some cases, they abolished the use of money for internal transactions, setting up free systems of production and distribution, and creating a decision-making procedure based on popular assemblies and direct, face-to-face

1 La Vía Campesina is an international movement that brings together peasant organizations of small and medium-sized producers, agricultural workers, landless people, women farmers, migrants and indigenous communities from Africa, Asia, the Americas, and Europe. It is an autonomous, pluralistic movement, independent of all political, economic or other denominations. La Vía Campesina (LVC) comprises about 164 local and national organizations in 73 countries and represents about 200 million farmers altogether. For more details see: <https://viacampesina.org/en>.

2 Farmers’ refer here to smallholder peasant/family crop and livestock farmers, herders/pastoralists, artisanal fisherfolk, landless farmers/rural workers, gardeners, forest dwellers, indigenous peoples, hunters and gatherers, and any other small-scale users of natural resources for food production. The majority of the world’s food producers are small family farmers.

3 People is a group of persons who belong to the same culture, ethnicity, race or nation. When more than one such groups is referred to ‘people’ becomes ‘peoples’.

democracy. In those parts of Spain not overrun by Franco's troops, about three million men, women and children were living in collectivized communes over large areas (Leval, 1975).

Elsewhere in India, Kropotkin's ideas on agrarian and industrial mutualism (Kropotkin, 1898) influenced Mahatma Gandhi's views on *Swaraj* (self-rule) and development based on economic self-reliance (*Sarvodaya*) to end poverty through improved agriculture and small-scale cottage industries in every village of India – from the plains to the terraced lands of hills and mountains.

Similarly, the enduring struggles of indigenous peoples<sup>4</sup> for self-determination, control over their ancestral territories, and their right to protect their knowledge systems and lifeways all echo and amplify the vision of food sovereignty put forward by peasant organizations. Many indigenous peoples' movements, such as the Zapatistas in the Chiapas of Mexico, promote food sovereignty as part of their struggles for self-determination, decolonization, cultural affirmation, autonomy, and gender equity (Gahman, 2016).

#### INCREASING VISIBILITY AND INFLUENCE

As a concept, food sovereignty has moved from the margins and gained much more visibility over the last ten years in particular (Desmarais and Nicholson, 2013). The term is increasingly recognized by some of the United Nations organisations, several governments, and a growing number of academic research centres and universities. For instance, several recent international reports on world food and agriculture mention 'food sovereignty' as a possible option for more sustainable agricultural development (e.g. IAASTD, 2009; HLPE, 2016). Countries like Mali and Senegal have included food sovereignty principles in their national policies. Constitutional recognition of the right to food sovereignty has been achieved in Ecuador, Bolivia and Nepal. And in both national and international policy fora, it is now common to hear civil society organisations (CSOs) advocate for specific policies in support of food sovereignty. Food sovereignty movements call for significant policy and institutional changes at international and national levels, including:

##### *Enabling national policies and legislation*

- Implement equitable land reform and redistribute surplus land to tenants, within a gender inclusive rights-based approach to environment and development;

- Reform property rights to secure gender-equitable rights of access and use of common property resources, forests and water;
- Protect the knowledge and rights of farmers and pastoralists to save seed and improve crop varieties and livestock breeds, – for example by banning patents and inappropriate intellectual property right (IPR) legislation;
- Re-introduce protective safeguards for domestic economies to guarantee stable prices that cover the cost of production, including quotas and other controls against imports of food and fibre that can be produced locally;
- Introduce policies that guarantee fair prices to producers and consumers, as safety nets for the poor;
- Re-direct both hidden and direct subsidies towards supporting family farmers, small scale producers and food workers in order to encourage a shift towards diverse, ecological, equitable and more localized food systems;
- Increase funding for, and re-orientate, public sector research and development (R&D) and agricultural/food-sciences extension towards participatory approaches and the co-construction of knowledge by scientists and farmers;
- Broaden citizen and non-specialist involvement in framing policies, deciding on research funding priorities, setting upstream research agendas, and validating knowledge, – as part of a process to democratize science, technology and policy making for food, farming, environment and development.

##### *Enabling global multilateralism and international policies*

- Re-orient the end goals of trade rules and aid, so that they contribute to the building of local economies and local control, rather than international competitiveness;
- Manage supply to ensure that public support does not lead to over-production and dumping that lowers prices below the cost of production—harming farmers in North and South;
- Set up international commodity agreements to regulate the total output to world markets;
- Create regional common agricultural markets that include countries with similar levels of agricultural productivity. For example: North Africa

4 Indigenous peoples are defined by the Special Rapporteur of the UN Economic and Social Council Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities as follows: "*Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system*" (UN ECOSOC, 1986). According to the UN International Labour Office (ILO), indigenous peoples constitute about 5% of the world's population, or nearly 370 million people spread across over 70 countries ([www.ilo.org/global/topics/indigenous-tribal/lang--en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/indigenous-tribal/lang--en/index.htm); <http://www.fao.org/family-farming-2014/en/>).

and the Middle East, West Africa, Central Africa, South Asia and Eastern Europe;

- Protect these regional common markets from the dumping of cheap food and fibre. Use quotas and tariffs to guarantee fair and stable prices to marginalized small-scale producers, food processors and small food enterprises. Prices should allow small-scale producers, artisans and food workers to earn a decent income, invest in and build their livelihood assets;
- Challenge corporate investor rules and transform the current international investment law regime. The expansion of current foreign investment rules should be blocked and arbitration processes should be reformed to ensure transparency and fairness. Alternative rules should also be constructed and implemented, focusing on the responsibilities of international investors to ensure sustainable development and enhance environmental, labor and human rights protection;
- Create mechanisms to ensure that the real costs of environmental damage, unsustainable production methods and long-distance trade are included in the cost of food and fibre;
- Ensure clear and accurate labelling of food and feedstuffs, with binding legislation for all companies to ensure transparency, accountability and respect for human rights, public health and environmental standards;
- Restrict the concentration and market power of major agri-food corporations through new international treaties, competition laws and adoption of more flexible process and product standards;
- Develop international collaboration for more effective antitrust law enforcement and measures to reduce market concentration in different parts of the global food system (concerning seeds, pesticides, food processing, and retailing as well as financial investors);
- Co-operate to ensure that corporations and investment banks as well as their directors are held legally responsible for breaches in environmental, labor and social laws as well as in international agreements;
- Co-operate on a global level to tax speculative international financial flows (US \$1,600 thousand million/day), and redirect funds to build local livelihood assets, meet human needs, as well as regenerate local ecologies and economies.

#### CHALLENGES FOR REGENERATING TERRACED LANDSCAPES THROUGH FOOD SOVEREIGNTY

A focus on the following challenges is now required to further amplify and scale out food sovereignty to more people and places in terraced landscapes and the wider territories they are embedded in.

#### Inventing a new modernity and peasant identity

Most of the world's food is still grown, collected and harvested by over 2.5 billion small scale farmers, indigenous peoples, pastoralists, forest dwellers and artisanal fishers. Worldwide, over 72% of the total number of farms are family farms which are smaller than one hectare in size (Lowder et al., 2016). Collectively, these smallholders are by far the largest investors in farming and land (HLPE, 2013), and produce at least 70 percent of the world's food according to the UN Food and Agriculture Organization<sup>1</sup> This food is primarily sold, processed, re-sold and consumed locally, with many people obtaining their incomes and livelihoods by working at different points of the food chain, from field to plate. Worldwide, these diverse and localized food systems provide the foundations of people's nutrition, incomes, economies and culture. But despite these contributions, local food systems—and the organizations and local institutions that govern them—are largely ignored, neglected or actively undermined by governments and corporations.

In both capitalist and Marxist Nation States, the dominant view of modernizing development envisions having less people living on the land and depending on localized food systems. Nation States have encouraged an exodus of people from rural areas to work in industry and urban-based trade and services (Desmarais, 2007; Perez-Vitoria, 2015; Pimbert, 2008). Many development policies are based on the belief that those subsistence producers who continue to farm, fish, rear livestock and harvest forests and common property lands should 'modernize' as quickly as possible. They should become fully commercial producers by applying industrial food and agricultural technologies that allow for economies of scale and integration of global value chains (Desmarais, 2007). Those who cannot make this transition should move out of farming and rural areas to seek alternative livelihoods. Over the last century, this view of modernity has encouraged and legitimised the exodus of rural communities dependent on terraced landscapes for their livelihoods (Mendras, 1970).

Moreover, the global restructuring of agri-food systems led by corporations has increasingly marginalised or displaced local food systems, with a few transnational corporations gaining monopoly control over different links in the food chain (Clapp and Fuchs, 2009; Clapp, 2018). An important part of this process is what Ivan Illich has termed 'radical monopoly': 'the substitution of an industrial product or a professional service for a useful activity in which people engage or would like to engage', leading to the deterioration of autonomous systems and modes of production (Illich, 1973). Radical monopolies replace non-marketable use-values with commodities by reshaping the social and physical environment and by appropriating the components that enable people to cope on their own, thus undermining freedom and cultural diversity (Illich, 1973).



This favoured modernization agenda is seen as inevitable by most corporations and governments. Contesting and neutralising the agency of this hegemonic view of modernity is a major challenge for the food sovereignty movement. The idea that small-scale producers and indigenous peoples as a group are bound to disappear reflects just one vision of the future—it is a political choice that relies on specific theories of change that is rejected by social movements working for food sovereignty. In response to a development model geared to ensuring the extinction of small-scale food providers, *La Vía Campesina* is redefining what it means to be a ‘peasant’. A process of ‘re-peasantization’ is slowly unfolding as more national and regional organizations proudly embrace the term ‘peasant’ to describe themselves (Desmarais, 2007; Perez Vitoria, 2015).

Throughout the world today, growing numbers of smallholders and citizens are affirming this alternative peasant identity and projecting an alternative vision of modernity rich in meaning and hope for the future. Many voices in social movements claim that food sovereignty can help give birth to this new modernity by regenerating a diversity of autonomous food systems in rural and urban spaces (Pimbert, 2008; Perez-Vitoria, 2015). Embraced by an increasing number of youth, this vision of modernity and diversity rejects the idea of development as a process of commodification of nature and social relations (Rist, 2013). It looks to other definitions of ‘the good life’ – including *Buen Vivir* or *Sumak Kausai* in Latin America, De-growth in Europe, feminist subsistence perspectives (Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen, 1999) and Ecological *Swaraj* in India (Kothari et al., 2014). Transformation for food sovereignty must be increasingly grounded in a radical pluralism that honors and nurtures cultural diversity by enabling many paths to the realization of self-defined aspirations and definitions of the ‘good life’. Reversing the decline and loss of terraced landscapes partly depends on inventing such plural definitions of modernity.

### A shift from linear to circular food systems

Food sovereignty goes much further than a critique of *agricultural production* alone. It questions the structure of the entire food system. The globalized supply chains that feed the world rely on the intensive use of fossil fuels from field to plate – for fertilizers, pesticides, production, processing, transport, refrigeration and retailing – and are a major contributor to climate change and pollution. In France, for example, the national food system generates more than a third of the country’s greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions (Jancovici, 2010). In turn, the energy sector that supports industrial food and farming also has a damaging ecological footprint: exploring oilfields, mining tar sands, building dams, and logging forests all serve to degrade and emit large quantities of the greenhouse gases that fuel climate change.

Industrial food, energy and water systems are fundamentally unsustainable. Their linear, and increasingly globalized, structure assumes that the Earth has an endless supply of natural resources at one end, and a limitless capacity to absorb waste and pollution at the other. Nature is treated as if inert and constantly available for unlimited and free exploitation by human society. However, planetary limits are being exceeded through the multiple impacts of industrial food and farming (Steffen et al., 2015). ‘*Business as usual is no longer an option*’ (IAASTD, 2009) – a fundamental transformation is needed rather than reforms that leave the basic structure of modern food systems unchanged. An alternative to the conventional development model is to shift from linear systems to circular ones that mimic natural cycles (Jones et al., 2012). This is done by adopting a circular metabolism that reflects the natural world and builds on two key ecological design principles. The first is that nature is based on nested and interacting cycles—for example, carbon, nitrogen, phosphorus, and water. The second is that ‘waste’ is converted into a useful form by natural processes and cycles, ensuring that waste from one species becomes food for other species in the ecosystem.

Food sovereignty looks to the science of agroecology to develop more climate-friendly and sustainable food and farming systems (Rosset and Altieri 2017). Agroecology’s central idea is that agroecosystems should mimic the biodiversity levels, cycles, and functioning of natural ecosystems. Such agricultural mimics, like their natural models, can be productive, pest-resistant, nutrient-conserving, and relatively resilient to stresses such as climate change. Agroecological methods used on farms and the surrounding landscape include for example genetic mixtures, crop rotations, intercropping, polycultures, mulching, terracing, the management of diverse micro-environments for nutrient concentration and water harvesting, agro-pastoral systems, and agroforestry. There is an emphasis on re-use, creating closed loop systems. For example, in the mulberry grove–fishpond system of China’s Pearl River Delta, the leaves of the white mulberry tree are fed to silkworms, which produce silk. Compost from the mulberry tree and silkworm excrement are applied to the fishpond to feed the fish, and the excrement of the fish and other organic matter from the bottom mud is used as fertilizer for the trees. The design of biodiverse, energy-efficient, resource-conserving, and resilient farming systems is based on mutually reinforcing agroecological principles that combine the modern science of ecology with the collective knowledge, practices, and ecological rationale of indigenous and peasant agriculture(s) throughout the world (Altieri, 1987; FAO, 2018).

From its initial emphasis on ecology for the design of sustainable agriculture, agroecology now emphasizes the study of the ecology of food systems (Gliessman, 2014). At the food system level, agroecological pathways to sustainability build alternative

**Box 1. Circular systems for sustainable living in terraced landscapes**

In Spain, farmers and other citizens involved in the *Catalan Integral Cooperative* (CIC) in the city of Barcelona and nearby municipalities are weaving together a decentralised and distributed network of circular systems under democratic control and popular self-management. For example, CIC has successfully developed a functional logistics network for the transport and delivery of organic food produced by small producers in peri-urban and rural areas of Catalonia. CIC's *Network of Science, Technique and Technology* has developed technologies and machines adapted to the particular needs of small producers working in terraced landscapes. Peri-urban agroecological farms that feed local schools work with cooperatives for the digital manufacture of farm tools and they are also part of a territorial network of peer-to-peer production, small scale industrial ecologies, as well as local exchange networks and social currencies. These socio-technical innovations not only foster a new agrarian-industrial mutualism between town and countryside; they also help restore a sense of selfhood, competency and active citizenship (<https://cooperativa.cat/en/>).

food networks that re-localize production and consumption. This approach seeks to reinforce connections between producers and consumers and integrate agroecological practices with alternative market relationships within specific territories (Gliessman, 2014; CSM, 2016).

This re-localisation of food systems within territories also calls for the integration of food, energy and water within circular systems. This is a major challenge for the food sovereignty movement because radically new knowledge must be developed for that purpose (Pimbert, 2018). Throughout the world, substantial increases in public funds are needed to generate new knowledge that can help replace specialized and centralized supply chains with webs of decentralized circular systems that link food and energy systems with sustainable water and waste management. Despite official recognition that agroecology has a role to play in meeting the Sustainable Development Goals (FAO 2018), there is very little public funding for research and development (R&D). For example, in the USA, a recent analysis of funding by the US Department of Agriculture (USDA) showed that projects with an emphasis of agroecology based on agroecosystem diversification represented only 0.6 to 1.5% of the entire USDA Research, Extension and Economics (REE) budget (DeLonge et al, 2016). Similarly, funding for agroecological research in the UK represents a tiny 1.5% of the total UK budget for agricultural R&D. The percentage of funds for the development of agroecological solutions is even lower in the UK's official aid programme for Africa, Asia and Latin America. Since 2010, agroecological research projects have received less than 0.1% of the UK's Department for International Development's budget for official aid on food and farming (Pimbert and Moeller, 2018). The lion's share of the UK's overseas aid for agricultural R&D supports Green and Blue Revolution farming as well as industrial food systems and the expansion of global value chains. More broadly, the overseas aid programs of G7 and

European countries used to support agroecological research and innovations in the terraced landscapes of the global South are disappointingly insignificant (Pimbert and Moeller, 2018).

More generally, the food sovereignty movement is increasingly challenged to develop and scale out circular systems that mimic natural ecosystems at different scales, – from individual farm plots to entire cities, by using functional biodiversity, ecological clustering of industries, recycling, and re-localized production and consumption within a territorial-based approach to sustainable living. Experience to date shows that these rural and urban systems are often characterized by: agroecological approaches; ecological design; widespread recycling and reuse; a focus on 'doing more with less'; and the re-localization of production processes, supply chains, and consumption (Jones et al, 2012). Circular systems that combine food and energy production with water and waste management aim to reduce carbon and ecological footprints whilst maintaining a good quality of life through a *controlled process of de-growth in consumption and production* driven by the '8 Rs' described by Serge Latouche: Re-evaluate, Re-conceptualize, Restructure, Redistribute, Re-localize, Reduce, Reuse, Recycle (Latouche, 2009). Last, but not least, such re-localized circular systems can be consciously designed for local control by communities of citizens, – emphasising cooperative, communal, and collective tenure over land, water, seeds, knowledge and other means of livelihood (Box 1). This can enhance the potential for conviviality, autonomy and direct democracy. Making the transition to decentralised and locally controlled circular systems is a major challenge for a transformative food sovereignty that aims to regenerate a diversity of local ecologies and economies in terraced landscapes.

**Rethinking economics, trade and markets**

In sharp contrast to conventional development, the food sovereignty paradigm seeks to reduce de-

**Box 2. Alternative economic principles for agroecology and food sovereignty**

- The re-localization of plural economies that combine both market oriented activities with non-monetary forms of economic exchange based on barter, reciprocity, gift relations, and solidarity;
- A guaranteed and unconditional minimum income for all men and women;
- A significant drop in time spent in wage-work and a fairer sharing of jobs and free time between men and women;
- Cooperative, communal, and collective tenure over land, water, seeds, knowledge and other means of livelihood;
- A tax on financial speculations, to fund the regeneration of local economies and ecologies;
- The use of alternative local currencies to regenerate wealth in re-territorialised economies;
- A shift from globalized, centralized and linear food systems to decentralized and democratically controlled circular economies that closely link food and energy production with water and waste management to reduce carbon and ecological footprints in urban and rural settings;
- A general and progressive shift to an economics of social inclusion, freedom and solidarity, – based on the principle of ‘*From each according to his/her means, to each according to his/her needs*’;
- Economic indicators that reflect and reinforce new definitions of well-being such as conviviality and frugal abundance.

pendence on corporate suppliers of external inputs and distant global commodity markets. This vision for the transformation of the dominant agri-food regime translates into an approach that emphasizes forms of economic organization and regeneration based on:

*Re-embedding agriculture in Nature, relying on functional biodiversity and internal resources for production of food, fibre and other benefits.* Local endogenous development based on a matrix of resilient agroecological and circular systems that mimic the structure and function of natural ecosystems at different scales;

*Farmers distancing themselves from markets supplying inputs* (hybrid seeds, GMOs, fertilizers, growth hormones, pesticides, credit, etc.). Reduced dependence on commodity markets for inputs enhances farmers’ autonomy and control over the means of production;

*Farmers diversifying outputs and market outlets.* A greater reliance on alternative food networks that reduce the distance between producers and consumers whilst ensuring that more wealth and jobs are created and retained within local economies: short food chains and local food webs, Community Supported Agriculture, local procurement schemes that link organic producers with schools and hospitals for example, community controlled food processing units, farm-based eco-tourism as places for urban dwellers to discover and reconnect with Nature and rural cultures;

*A rediscovery of forgotten resources:* local knowledge on crop and livestock management; organic manure and the soil’s capacity to sequester and fix carbon and improve the yields and nutritional quality of foods; renewable energies and their decentralized and distributed micro-generation (solar, wind, biogas,

etc.); medicinal plants as a basis for local health care systems;

*Trade rules that protect local economies and ecologies:* the spread of socio-ecologically resilient food systems depends on: (a) replacing proprietary technologies and patents on biodiversity with locally adapted legal frameworks that recognize farmers’ rights and guarantee equitable access to diverse seeds and livestock breeds; (b) replacing global, uniform standards for food and safety by a diversity of locally developed food standards that satisfy food and safety requirements; (c) introducing supply management and import quotas to guarantee stable prices and market outlets for food providers; and, (d) introducing local food, energy, and water procurement schemes for equity, social inclusion and ecological regeneration.

By reducing risks and costs, these forms of economic regeneration and organisation are increasingly important to sustain livelihoods and farming in terraced landscapes in Africa, the Americas, Asia and Europe. For example, evidence shows that agroecological practices that combine indigenous knowledge with modern ecological science reduce costs of production for farmers and also generate good yields as well as other multifunctional benefits (IAASTD, 2009). A large scale comparison of the yields of agroecological/organic farms with conventional farms (Badgley et al., 2007) showed that:

In developed countries, agroecological/organic systems on average produce 92% of the yield produced by conventional agriculture. In developing countries, however, organic agroecological systems produce 80% more than conventional farms. These findings are based on a global dataset of 293 examples.



The materials needed for agroecological/organic farming are more accessible to farmers in developing countries. Poor and marginalised farmers usually cannot afford the fertilisers and pesticides needed for intensive chemical input agriculture. However, organic fertiliser and nitrogen fixing cover crops do not cost much – farmers can produce them on their own farms.

The world currently produces the equivalent of 2786 calories per person per day. If farms worldwide were to switch to organic agroecological methods today, this research found that farms could produce between 2641 and 4381 calories per person per day under an organic-only regime (Badgley et al., 2007).

More generally, a fundamentally different economics is needed for the widespread adoption and spread of the food sovereignty paradigm. A deep rethinking of economics is urgent because throughout the industrial food system and its related sectors (energy, manufacturing, etc.), there is a direct relationship between the huge increases in productivity achieved through the use of automated technology, bio-science applications, re-engineering, and downsizing, and the permanent exclusion of high numbers of workers from employment. This erosion of the link between job creation and wealth creation calls for a much fairer and more gender equitable distribution of productivity gains through a reduction of working hours. It also calls for alternative forms of economic organisation that provide opportunities and local autonomous spaces for the generation of use values rather than exchange values (Gollain, 2000; Latouche, 2003; Mies and Bennholdt Thomsen, 1999; Rist, 2011, 2013; D'Alisa et al., 2014). As indicated in Box 2, these alternative models represent a radical departure from the conventional economics that underpins mainstream environment and development policies today – in both capitalist and Marxist Nation States.

There is no consensus yet within the food sovereignty movement as to what kind of economic arrangements and indicators of well-being are needed. More than ever, food sovereignty transformation depends on a creative re-imagining of economics that explores the rich possibilities of solidarity economics, de-growth thinking, anarchist economics, feminist economics, and other alternatives (Pimbert 2018). This is a major overarching challenge and opportunity to make other worlds possible.

### Deepening democracy

Food sovereignty in terraced landscapes calls for greater farmer and citizen participation as well as more direct forms of democracy in the governance of food systems – from field to plate. This view is consistent with one of the clearest demands of the food sov-

ereignty movement: farmers and other citizens should exercise their fundamental human right to decide their own food and agricultural policies (Nyéléni, 2007). The food sovereignty paradigm is indeed perhaps best understood as a process that aims to expand the realm of democracy and freedom by regenerating a diversity of locally autonomous and socially just food systems (Pimbert, 2008).

Social movements committed to a transformative food sovereignty generally seek to reverse the democratic deficit and processes of exclusion that favour the values and interests of powerful corporations, investors, big farmers and technocratic research institutes. This will often require an expansion of *direct* democracy in decision making in order to complement, or replace, models of representative democracy that prevail in conventional policy making for environment and development. This is a major challenge because the commitment to deepen democracy reflects values that fundamentally differ from the dominant worldview in society. First, deepening democracy assumes that every citizen is competent and reasonable enough to participate in democratic politics. However, this requires the development of a different kind of character from that of passive taxpayers and voters. Second, active citizenship and participation in decision-making are rights that are claimed mainly through the agency and actions of people themselves – they are not granted by the State or the market. Third, empowering men and women farmers as well as other citizens in the governance of food systems and the wider ecosystems they are embedded in (grasslands, forests, wetlands...) requires social innovations that i) create inclusive and safe spaces for deliberation and action; ii) build local organizations, horizontal networks and federations to enhance peoples' capacity for voice and agency; iii) strengthen civil society and gender equity; iv) expand information democracy and citizen-controlled media (community radio and video film making, among others); v) promote self-management structures at the workplace and democracy in households; vi) learn from the history of direct democracy; and, vii) nurture active citizenship (Pimbert, 2008). Fourth, only with some material security and free time can people, – both men and women as well as the old and young –, be 'empowered' to think about what type of policies and institutions they would like to see and how they can develop them. For example, free time is needed for men and women to fully engage in, – and regularly practice –, the art of participatory direct democracy. This requires radical reforms in economic arrangements similar to those listed in Box 2. Ensuring that agrarian communities can thrive and prosper also depends on these radical reforms, – they are part of the deeper-seated structural changes required to reverse the worldwide economic genocide of family farmers, pastoralists, forest dwellers, and fishers.

**Box 3. Democratizing research for agroecology and food sovereignty**

Social movements and activist scholars increasingly view science as part of a bottom–up, participatory and emergent process in which farmers and citizens should take center–stage. In this approach, instead of being passive beneficiaries of ‘trickle down’ development or technology transfer, food producers and citizens participate as knowledgeable and active social agents, including in setting upstream strategic priorities for national research and its funding. In practice, two complementary approaches are proposed as alternatives to the increasingly corporate–controlled research of food and agriculture (Pimbert, 2018):

1. *Supporting bottom–up networks of self–managed research and grassroots innovation as well as citizen oversight over the production of knowledge.* This requires the strengthening of farmer– and citizen–led innovation and sociocultural networks that are organized along more horizontal and egalitarian lines to produce and transform knowledge, – with or without the involvement of professional scientists. Examples include: The *Réseau Semences Paysannes* in France and its approach to agroecological research and participatory plant breeding ([www.semencespaysannes.org](http://www.semencespaysannes.org)); the *Campesino a Campesino* movement in Central America; and the social process methodology used in constructing sustainable peasant agriculture, agroecology and food sovereignty in Cuba.
2. *Democratizing public research and increased funding for research on the technical and institutional dimensions of agroecology as food sovereignty.* Deepening democratic participation in public research implies a systemic transformation within existing educational and research establishments. It entails profound changes in academic cultures, in the self–image of researchers and academics, in teaching pedagogies, in research agendas and methodologies, organizational cultures, operational procedures, and in the very role that universities and research institutes play in society. Policy recommendations made by farmer and citizens’ juries on how to democratize the governance of research often focus on changing the determinants of innovation and factors that influence research choices e.g. science policies, public–private partnerships, funding, and ways of working of scientists (see [www.excludedvoices.org](http://www.excludedvoices.org)).

Deepening democracy also implies greater gender justice, and the need for a more feminist theory and practice for food sovereignty. Members of *La Via Campesina* have clearly stated that “*If we do not eradicate violence towards women within the movement, we will not advance in our struggles, and if we do not create new gender relations, we will not be able to build a new society*” (La Vía Campesina, 2008). But despite its critical perspective food sovereignty has not yet incorporated an explicit gender approach that can problematize social relations in patriarchal contexts, adequately value the role(s) of peasant women, and make more visible the relationship between women’s domestic work and care with socio–environmental sustainability (Larrauri et al., 2016; La Vía Campesina, 2017) The relative lack of a feminist and gender perspective in food sovereignty also hides from view the many inequalities between men and women in peasant agriculture (Bezner Kerr, 2013) and rural communities in terraced landscapes. As a social movement, food sovereignty needs to develop ways of knowing, new knowledge, and practices which are informed by a feminist perspective that challenges patriarchy and forms of structural violence against women in particular. Given the vital importance of women’s knowledge and work in land care, farming, and food preparation this is an urgent priority.

**Horizontal structures for multi–level decision making**

New institutional and political structures are needed to combine localism with interdependence for coordinated action across large areas. This is a major challenge for the implementation and spread of food sovereignty. Diverse agroecologies and re–territorialised food systems in which economics is re–embedded in society (cf. Polanyi, 1957) all require strong citizen oversight, inclusive participation, and collective action to coordinate local adaptive management and governance across a wide range of food systems and terraced landscapes in forests, wetlands, coastal areas, grasslands, islands and peri–urban areas. Moreover, nurturing and strengthening citizen–centred food systems and autonomy calls for forms of political and social organisation that can institutionalise interdependence without resorting to the global market or the centralising Nation State.

One option is confederalism, which is a way of linking together several political entities into a larger whole. Confederalism involves a network of people–based, – as opposed to government –, bodies or councils with members or delegates elected from popular face–to–face democratic assemblies, in villages, towns, and neighbourhoods of large cities. When combined with an education for active citizen–

ship, these confederal bodies or councils become the means of interlinking villages, towns, neighbourhoods and agro-ecological regions into a confederation based on shared responsibilities, full accountability, firmly mandated representatives and the right to recall them if necessary (Bookchin, 2015; Öcalan, 2011). The larger and more numerous the linked federations and confederations become, the greater is their potential to exert countervailing power to democratise and decentralise the governance of food systems and their diverse agroecologies. For example, in war-torn Syria and south-east Turkey, Kurdish men and women are putting into practice their demands for autonomy and democratic confederalism (Öcalan, 2011 in a region with many ancient terraced landscapes. They are creating a region-wide web of villages and municipal councils through which they can govern themselves. In this 'stateless democracy' Kurdish communities are formulating their own laws, creating their own parliament, and building their own universities and capacity for research (New World Academy, 2015; TATORT Kurdistan, 2013).

In practice however, food sovereignty movements are increasingly challenged to rely on a twin track approach to further citizen empowerment, democratic change, and the dispersal of power. For example, they can seek power within local and national government through strategies of collaboration and political negotiation, while also maintaining strong community and municipal organising strategies at the grassroots. Multiple lanes for engagement can also be used to link community-based food systems, social movements and allies in political parties with direct local governance strategies. In this regard, the struggle to democratize the governance of research for agroecology and food sovereignty is emblematic as it seeks to create more democratic ways of knowing through two complementary approaches (Box 3).

To different degrees, food producers in these two approaches work closely with supportive researchers and other citizens to decide strategic upstream research agendas and develop research priorities, including the allocation of funds for R&D. They co-produce knowledge and aim to scale out innovations through horizontal networks within and between terraced landscapes. Institutional innovations such as popular assemblies and methods for inclusive deliberative processes such as citizens' juries help create safe spaces for decision making *with*, *by* and *for* farmers and other citizens (Pimbert et al., 2011; Pimbert and Wakeford, 2002). By valuing and working with peoples' knowledge, this transformative process seeks to reverse what Boaventura de Souza Santos describes as 'cognitive injustice' and 'epistemicide' – the failure to recognise the fundamental right of different knowledges and ways of knowing to exist and give meaning to peoples' lives (Boaventura de Souza Santos, 2014).

For both ethical and practical reasons, achieving food sovereignty depends on expanding more direct forms of democracy and inclusion. Methodological and institutional innovations are needed to put hitherto excluded farmers and citizens, – men, women and youth –, at the centre of the co-construction of knowledge, policies, and practices for the local adaptive management and governance of terraced landscapes. This is a major challenge in today's context of growing inequalities, rapid global change, and uncertainty.

## CONCLUSIONS

Much of the academic literature on the conservation and management of terraced landscapes focuses on technical aspects and farm level practices. For example, how to address the costs of maintenance of terraced landscapes, or what can be done to prevent the loss of local technologies adapted to unique places. Whilst acknowledging the importance of these technical aspects of terracing, this paper identifies some of the wider social, economic and political processes that are key for the survival of terraced landscapes and their primary caretakers – farmers and rural communities. In this context, 'food sovereignty' offers a promising holistic approach to regenerating terraced landscapes and local livelihoods.

Food sovereignty is a radical alternative to conventional food and agriculture development. Over the last two decades, the concept food sovereignty has rapidly moved from the margins to more centre stage in international discussions on food security and sustainable development. As such, food sovereignty is directly relevant for contemporary debates on the future of terraced landscapes in Africa, Asia, the Americas, Europe and Oceania.

However, major challenges still need to be addressed to enable the large scale uptake and spread of food sovereignty in terraced landscapes and their associated territories. Regenerating local ecologies, economies and culture in territories with terraced landscapes depends on a systemic transformation that combines at least five dimensions of change:

*ecological* – re-organizing the material basis of food systems in the image of nature to regenerate diversity (genetic, species, ecological) and resilience. Carbon and ecological footprints can be reduced by re-localizing circular systems that combine food and energy production with water and waste management to achieve the SDGs within specific territories.

*economic* – inventing equitable and socially just forms of economic organization that re-territorialize food systems and wealth production whilst creating free time and livelihood security for farmers and other citizens.



*political* – expanding direct citizen participation and inclusion in the co-production of knowledge, policies, and institutions for the democratic governance of food systems and the territories they are embedded in.

*social inclusion and gender justice* – develop ways of knowing, new knowledge, policies, and practices which are informed by a feminist theory and practice that challenges patriarchy and forms of structural violence against women in particular.

*a search for a new modernity* – rejecting the idea of development as an ever expanding process of modification of nature and social relations. This requires adopting other definitions of ‘the good life’ and modernity based on a radical pluralism that honours and nurtures cultural diversity by enabling many paths to the realization of self-defined aspirations and diverse food systems rooted in terraced landscapes.

## PREHRANSKA SUVERENOST IN OBNOVA TERASIRANIH POKRAJIN

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### POVZETEK

*V sodobnosti so terasirane pokrajine po vsem svetu v upadanju kot posledica izseljevanja podeželskih skupnosti, ki so bile zgodovinsko arhitekti teh kulturnih pokrajin. Nujno so potrebni temeljni preobrati v politiki in praksi za ohranitev številnih družbenih in okoljskih koristi terasiranih pokrajin v Afriki, Aziji, Ameriki, Evropi in Oceaniji. V članku je utemeljeno, da pojavljajoča se paradigma o suverenosti pri preskrbi s hrano ponuja izvedljive možnosti za pridobivanje hrane, kmetovanje in dobro počutje na območjih terasiranih pokrajin in teritorijih, katerih del so slednje. S postavljanjem kmetovalcev in drugih ljudi v središče lahko prehranska suverenost tem zgodovinsko pomembnim arhitektom in skrbnikom terasiranih krajin omogoči regeneracijo lokalnih ekologij, gospodarstev in kultur kot dela nove modernosti. Skozi celovit pogled je v prispevku najprej na kratko opisan izvor in razvoj prehranske suverenosti kot alternativnega političnega okvira za prehrano in kmetijstvo. Nato v nadaljevanju sledi kritična razprava o nekaterih ključnih ekoloških, gospodarskih, političnih in socialnih izzivih, ki jih je treba obravnavati, da bi omogočili širjenje prehranske suverenosti k večjemu številu ljudi in krajev v terasiranih pokrajinah.*

**Ključne besede:** prehranska suverenost, terasirane pokrajine, kmetijska ekologija in krožni sistemi, demokracija, nova opredelitev modernosti in dobrega počutja

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## OLIVE PRODUCTION ON CULTIVATED TERRACES IN NORTHERN ISTRIA

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## ABSTRACT

*Cultivated terraces in northern Istria are an important element of the cultural landscape that enables several ecosystem services. Open green space is changing due to urban sprawl, soil sealing, and land abandonment. Olive growing is the only agricultural land use category that has increased in the past two decades. This study evaluates the various ecosystem services provided by terraced landscape under olive production in northern Istria. Terraced landscapes are multifunctional; they work against land degradation and preserve soil water for climate change adaptation and mitigation. Furthermore, terraced landscapes, particularly in distant areas, are disconnected from the more populated areas directly connected to the coast, and they face land abandonment, poor maintenance, and overgrowing issues. However, positive change is increasing in terraced areas used for olive orchards. This is in part due to the demand for Slovenian olive oil. Furthermore, the value of terraced landscapes with olive orchards and their part in the preservation of biodiversity is recognized in other sectors. As a cultivated cultural landscape element, olive orchards on terraces play important roles in tourism and provide much needed added value for tourist farms.*

**Keywords:** cultivated terraces, northern Istria, ecosystem services, soil erosion, land degradation

COLTIVAZIONE DEL ULIVO SUI TERRENI TERRAZZATI NELL'AREA DELL'ISTRIA  
SETTENTRIONALE

## SINTESI

*I terreni terrazzati nel nord dell'Istria sono un elemento importante e caratteristico del paesaggio culturale, che consente di offrire numerosi servizi ecosistemici. Le aree verdi sono soggetto di cambiamenti dovuti all'abbandono della coltivazione, espansione dell'urbanizzazione e costruzioni di infrastrutture. Gli uliveti sono l'unica categoria del uso agricolo, la cui superficie è aumentata negli ultimi venti anni. L'articolo tratta vari servizi ecosistemici di paesaggi terrazzati con alberi di ulivo nell'area dell'Istria settentrionale. I terreni terrazzati mantengono un valore multiruolo, nella lotta contro il degrado del suolo e per il miglioramento del bilancio idrico del suolo. Questo da un'importanza per gli adattamenti ai cambiamenti climatici. Inoltre, i terreni terrazzati che non si trovano nel entroterra e sono distanti dalle aree più densamente popolate, sono sottoposti a una scarsa manutenzione e abbandono. Tuttavia, c'è una tendenza positiva nella crescita degli uliveti terrazzati. Sicuramente a questo ha contribuito la forte crescita della domanda di olio d'oliva sloveno. Inoltre, il valore del paesaggio terrazzato con uliveti è sempre più riconosciuto anche in altri settori e nella conservazione della biodiversità. Come paesaggio culturale, gli uliveti sulle terrazze svolgono un ruolo importante nel turismo e forniscono un valore aggiunto, tanto necessario, per le fattorie turistiche.*

**Parole chiave:** terrazzamenti coltivati, Istria settentrionale, servizi ecosistemici, erosione del suolo, degrado del territorio

## INTRODUCTION

Land terracing has introduced specific human-induced geomorphic processes that are often the most effective soil erosion and landscape changing processes acting at the field and hill-slope scales (Borselli *et al.*, 2006; Cots-Folch *et al.*, 2006), conserving soil and water and thus enabling more intensive crop production in sloped areas (Landi, 1989). Among all anthropogenic geomorphological features, agricultural terraces on steep land have the largest relief-modifying impact, equally affecting soil, climatic, hydrologic, and biogeographic conditions. Terraces are the predominant elements of landscapes in many parts of the world (Csorba, 2010). The reshaping of the earth's surface began almost at the same time as the rise of agricultural civilizations (Wei *et al.*, 2016), as humans adapted sloped areas by creating different types of terraces in different sloping conditions in order to improve water balance and tillage conditions and reduce soil erosion. In the Mediterranean area, terraces spread to the drier regions with the development of agriculture practices (Price, Nixon, 2005). To this day, agricultural terraces remain one of the most distinctive elements of the cultural landscape of Mediterranean hilly environments (Loumou, Giourga, 2003), used for almond, hazelnut, and olive trees as well as vineyards (Cots-Folch *et al.*, 2006). Until the end of the nineteenth century, terraces with stone embankments were a characteristic feature of the landscape of northern Istria. The terraces were created and maintained manually (Likar, 2017). Most of the historical terraces are of the bench type, with stone walls that are threatened by land abandonment, as stone wall terraces require a large amount of labor, since they were built and are maintained by hand (Cots-Folch *et al.*, 2006; Likar, 2017).

Cultivated terraces are man-made spatial phenomena that are influenced by various dynamic processes. After they are built, terraces are subject to the constant influence of natural forces and the effects of human activities (Likar, 2017). The main factors influencing changes in terraced landscapes (de Graaff *et al.*, 2010) are: (a) Agonomic measures, such as revegetation using suitable tree species, implementation of irrigation, planting of cover crops, mulching, more effective fertilization, and pest control. (b) Physical environmental measures, including corridors for wildfire protection, afforestation, and a wide range of erosion control measures (e.g., the preservation of terraces, vegetative strips). (c) Policy measures: agri-environmental measures, different types of financial support (e.g., for purchasing abandoned orchards), public rural facilities, infrastructure development (e.g., access roads), measures to improve marketing and prices, and activities to promote tourism.

Terraces are either preserved through regular maintenance – agricultural land use, improvements in their construction – or demolished due to land abandonment or urbanization (Ažman Momirski and Kladnik, 2009;

di Petro, Blasi, 2002; Stanchi *et al.*, 2012; Sluis *et al.*, 2014; Likar, 2017; Brunori *et al.*, 2018). In the case of terrace construction, implementation of low cost terracing is complex and can be problematic. While slopes experiencing severe human disturbances (e.g., overgrazing and deforestation) can generally become more stable after terracing, the negative effects of terracing may occur in poorly-designed or poorly-managed terraces. The maintenance of terraces is costly and eventually unaffordable for many farmers (Likar, 2017). Identifying suitable technology for the remediation of a degraded area through terracing is important (Gao *et al.*, 2018; Stanchi *et al.*, 2012; Ažman Momirski, Berčič, 2016), as the lack of environmental legislation adapted to local conditions can have negative policy impacts (Golobič, Lestan, 2016). In some areas terraces can mischaracterize historical and architectural heritage sites (e.g., the UNESCO World Heritage Douro Wine Region in Portugal, Valle Junior *et al.*, 2014). The maintenance and reconstruction of agricultural terraces is an important task in landscape conservation, particularly at World Heritage sites (Csorba, 2010; Valle Junior *et al.*, 2014), but the application of suitable technology and approaches is necessary (Loeper *et al.*, 2016), and the costs cannot be placed on the land users alone; they have to be considered within a broader context of the ecosystem services that terraced landscapes provide.

After World War II, terraces with less expensive grass-covered embankments instead of stone walls were built (Likar, 2017), which is a practice supported by EU policies (Sierra de Lujar, 1995; Clots-Folch *et al.*, 2006; Martínez Casasnovas *et al.*, 2010; Mili *et al.*, 2013), as well as Slovenian agricultural policy (Rural Development Program RDP 2007–2013, RDP 2014–2020).

Though prior works have considered terraces as a landscape characteristic of northern Istria (Titl, 1965; Stritar, 1990), there has been a clear shift in interest in the Slovenian research community. There have been two peak periods of publishing about Slovenia's terraced landscapes: the first one in 2007 and 2008 and the second one in 2015 and 2016 (Ažman Momirski, 2019). Descriptions of the cultural importance of terraced landscapes in Gorizia Hills (Ažman Momirski, 2008a, 2008b), followed by an illustrative review of terraced landscapes in Slovenia by Ažman Momirski, Kladnik, 2009, lay ground for further exploration of this element of cultural landscapes. In a nationwide study, Berčič, 2016, and Kladnik *et al.*, 2016 evaluated the basic characteristics of terraces and their transforming processes. Ažman Momirski, Berčič, 2016, explored the distribution and occurrence of terraces in Slovenian municipalities. They noted substantial discrepancies between the international active participation of Slovenian researchers and the applied knowledge and skills transferred into local spatial planning programs and actions. The results showed



**Table 1: Selected evaluated divisions of ecosystem services with examples according to MAE, 2005, and CICES (Haines-Young, Potschin, 2013).**

ES division	Description	Examples of evaluated processes and indicators	
Provisioning	Products people obtain from ecosystems, such as food, fuel, fibre, fresh water (nutrition, materials and energy)	Olives & products; Wild berries, fruits, mushrooms; Game, honey harvested from wild populations; Wood, timber, flowers; Genetic material (DNA) from wild plants; Collected precipitation, abstracted surface water from rivers, lakes and other open water bodies; Wood fuel, straw, for burning and energy production	Podgornik <i>et al.</i> , 2017, 2018 Golobič, Lestan, 2016 Lestan <i>et al.</i> , 2016
Regulation & Maintenance	The benefits people obtain from the regulation of ecosystem processes, including air quality maintenance, climate regulation, erosion control, regulation of human diseases, and water purification.	Protection against erosion, landslides and gravity flow (vegetation cover protecting/stabilizing terrestrial ecosystems; Capacity of maintaining baseline flows for water supply and discharge; e.g. fostering groundwater; Recharge by appropriate land coverage that captures effective rainfall; includes drought and water scarcity aspects; Filtration and storage, accumulation of pollutants in land and soil; Visual screening of transport corridors e.g. by trees; Green infrastructure to reduce noise and smells; Natural or planted vegetation that serves as shelter belts; Pollination by bees and other insects; seed dispersal by insects, birds and other animals; Maintenance of bio-geochemical conditions of soils including fertility, nutrient storage, or soil structure; includes biological, chemical, physical weathering and pedogenesis; Modifying temperature, humidity, wind fields; maintenance of rural and urban climate and air quality	Ceglar <i>et al.</i> , 2008 Prus <i>et al.</i> , 2015 Likar, 2017 Prus <i>et al.</i> , 2015 Ažman Momirski 2014, 2015a, Guštin, 2016, Likar, 2017 Prus <i>et al.</i> , 2015, Vidic <i>et al.</i> , 2015 Pogačar <i>et al.</i> , 2018
Cultural	The non-material benefits people obtain from ecosystems through spiritual enrichment, cognitive development, reflection, recreation, and aesthetic experiences.	Walking, hiking, climbing, boating, bird watching; Historic records, cultural heritage e.g. preserved in soils; Ex-situ viewing and experiencing of natural world through different media; Sense of place, artistic representations of nature; Enjoyment provided by wild species, wilderness, ecosystems, terraced landscapes; Willingness to preserve plants, animals, ecosystems, landscapes for the experience and use of future generations; moral or ethical perspective or belief	Ažman Momirski, 2015b, Ažman Momirski, Berčič, 2016, Guštin, 2016, Likar, 2017, Faganel, Trnavčič, 2012 Likar, 2017

that the abandonment of terraced landscapes leads to degradation processes, such as soil erosion and slope instability in the form of landslides. An informative summary of current national and international research on terraced landscapes is provided by Kladnik *et al.* 2017.

Terraces were created with the rise of agricultural civilization to provide stable space for agricultural production (Price, Nixon, 2005). Their main function is soil conservation, which they accomplish by reducing slope on cultivated land and allowing water run-off from the higher side of the terrace to spread

out and infiltrate on the flat part. However, terraced landscapes provide a full spectrum of ecosystem services and the full scope of the processes and functions of terraces in improved ecosystem services needs to be explored (Wei *et al.*, 2016). In this article we review, explore, and identify the main functions of terraced landscapes planted with olive orchards in the three main sections of ecosystem services (Common International Classification of Ecosystem Services, CICES (Haynes-Young, Potschin, 2013): provisioning, regulation and maintenance, and cultural services for northern Istria.

## METHODS AND MATERIALS

Ecosystem services are the benefits people derive from the ecosystems they are part of. In order to enable people to move more easily between classifications of ecosystem services and to understand more clearly how data and information are being measured and analyzed, CICES has been developed (Haines-Young, Potschin, 2013). This article is a literature review of recent scientific publications related to olive production on cultivated terraces in Slovenia and the related ecosystem services. Based on the review results, we evaluate current conditions in the olive production of northern Istria, showing the relationships between different studies and the values of the ecosystem services of cultivated terraces. All three main divisions of ecosystem services have been evaluated: provisioning, regulation and maintenance, and cultural. For each of the main divisions, a group of ecosystem services, classes, and class types has been identified (Table 1), with examples related to terraced landscapes in Slovenian Istria. For regulation and maintenance we separately evaluate climate change mitigation and biodiversity services.

The working hypothesis of this study was that terraced landscapes provide ecosystem services in all three divisions and several (sub)categories. These services benefit not only people in the agricultural sector, but also groups of people in other areas. The focus research question was: do terraced landscapes with olive orchards provide ecosystem services in more than the agricultural sector? The premise is that while more than one sector benefits from terraced landscapes with olive orchards, the cost and duty of maintenance for terraced landscapes falls solely on individuals active in agricultural sector. In other words, the benefit is distributed over multiple sectors, but the cost is borne by just one sector. The time framework of the study was the evaluation of the current state of the ecosystem services that existing terraced landscapes planted with olive orchards provide for people in various sectors. The methods employed in the research were: (i) review of the literature on the ecosystem services of terraced landscapes, (ii) analyses of the data on terraced landscape areas and olive orchards in coastal regions, (iii) evaluation of *in situ* literature data on terraced landscapes with olive orchards and assessment of the ecosystem services listed in Table 1, and (iv) projection of literature-identified ecosystem services of terraced landscapes with olive orchards in the coastal region of northern Istria in Slovenia.

#### Natural conditions of northern Istria for provisioning services

The Slovenian Coast is predominantly abrasive, with steep and crumbling cliffs of marl and sandstone in dif-

ferent phases of development. Weathering is the main erosion factor, with occasional landslides and toppling; wave erosion occurs during extreme storm events. There is also accumulative coast with fertile plains developed on fine sediments deposited mainly by the Soča river, and, to a smaller extent, by the rivers Rižana, Badaševica and Dragonja (Stritar, 1990; Prus *et al.*, 2015). On these alluvial plains, alluvial soils, eutric, developed; these enable intensive agricultural production. Some of these areas are used for salt pans. In addition, hypogleyic eutric soil developed in some alluvial plain areas. In hilly areas with terraces, deeply cultivated eutric soils, eutric brown soils typical and calcaric on flysch developed. Due to the dynamic and hilly terrain, the land has been transformed into a terraced landscape suitable for cultivation in settlements' functional rural area and into the terraced land of clustered settlements (Stritar, 1990; Likar, 2017). Terraces have been in use for vegetable and fruit production, as well as olive orchards and vineyards, and still are today. For the whole coastal area of northern Istria, intensive urbanization is becoming a predominant feature, as new urban settlements, harbor activities, tourism, and industries develop. Urbanization and soil sealing is problematic statewide. According to a rough estimate, approximately 3000 m<sup>2</sup> of arable land (*i.e.*, arable fields, meadows, and orchards) per capita are needed for sufficient food production for the Slovenian population in given ecological conditions (Vidic *et al.*, 2015). Slovenia, with less than 900 m<sup>2</sup> per capita (Lisec *et al.*, 2014), is already below this value. The loss of the potential for the production of strategic quantities of food, especially because of the increasingly frequent occurrences of extreme weather phenomena, suggests that food self-supply may become an important issue in the near future (Vidic *et al.*, 2015).

Olives are the second most cultivated fruit species (after apple tree) on Slovenian soil and provide for 64 % of domestic olive oil production (Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry and Food, MAFF, 2017). According to one land use evaluation, there are approximately 2,293 ha of olive orchards in Slovenia (MAFF, 2017). All olive orchards bigger than 0.1 ha should be registered in public databases at (MAFF, 2017), yet there are documented discrepancies between the situation in the field and the public databases (Ažman Momirski, 2017). In 2013 there were 6,461 olive orchards, about 200 less than were registered, and the total area in 2013 was 1,967 ha. Current data for 2017 from the registry of agricultural husbandries is shown in Table 1. As shown in Table 2, registered olive orchards cover 1,297.4 ha, of which 823.1 ha or 63.4 % are terraced olive orchards. The reasons for the discrepancy between the information in the public database of agricultural land use data on (MAFF, 2017), and the registry of agricultural husbandries has been discussed by (Ažman Momirski, 2017). Land use is considered a two-dimensional tool, which does not recognize elevation differences

**Table 2: Municipalities of three regions in Slovenia, Slovenian Istria, Vipava Valley and Gorizia Hills, their areas (ha), the area of olive orchards (ha), the area of terraced olive orchards (ha), and the share of terraced orchards (%) according to the registry of agricultural husbandries (MAFF) in 2017.**

	Municipality	Municipality area (ha)	Olive orchards (ha)	Terraced olive orchards (ha)	Share of terraced orchards (%)
Coastal area of Slovenian Istria 400 km <sup>2</sup> 45°27'59" - 45°34'34"	Izola	2856.1	234.8	154.9	66.0
	Koper	30332.3	571.5	312.0	54.6
	Piran	4345.0	314.3	246.2	78.3
	Ankaran	804.9	28.1	13.2	47.1
Vipava Valley 310 km <sup>2</sup> 45°52'32" - 45°57'48"	Vipava	10740.7	2.0	1.8	86.1
	Šempeter-Vrtojba	1495.0	3.5	2.2	60.8
	Renče-Vogrsko	2946.8	4.6	3.6	77.4
	Nova Gorica	27949.1	41.6	29.7	71.3
	Sežana	21740.1	0.8	0.1	15.8
	Kanal	14653.1	0.1	0.0	0.0
	Ajdovščina	24523.4	26.9	12.9	48.0
	Komen	10271.7	1.7	0.2	11.9
Gorizia Hills 83 km <sup>2</sup> 45°58'30" - 46°01'25"	Miren-Kostanjevica	6278.4	6.6	2.1	32.2
	Brda	7196.6	60.9	44.2	72.6
Total		166133.2	1297.4	823.1	63.4
Total area of olive orchards on coastal region (ha)			1120.6	713.2	
Total share of olive orchards on coastal region (%)			86.4	86.6	

and terraced slopes (Ažman Momirski, 2017). In some cases, existing terraces are omitted from the inventory because landowners do not report them; in other cases, land that is not terraced is erroneously reported as terraced by landowners. Consequently, the official data on vineyards, orchards, and olive orchards on terraces and the actual terraced slopes with such land use may differ significantly (Ažman Momirski, 2017).

The coastal municipalities of Koper, Izola, Piran, and Ankaran encompass 88.5 % of Slovenian olive orchards (1148.7 ha), and their orchards are mostly on terraces (62.3 % or 726.4 ha) (Table 2). The biggest area of olive orchards is in the municipality of Koper (571.5 ha); 54.6 % of Koper's orchards are terraced, which is the lowest share of olive orchards on terraces of the three municipalities with the biggest areas of olive orchards. The size of the individual plots remains

small, as is typical in the Slovenian agricultural landscape (Likar, 2017), which is highly fragmented (Lisec *et al.*, 2014). Records for 2017 for 2,726 registered farmers with olive orchards show that the average size of individual areas with olive orchards (graphical units of agricultural land use) is 0.47 ha. The biggest olive orchard covers 9.17 ha and is located in the northern hills of Dragonja valley. Farmers register olive yield and olive oil production on 844.11 ha of olive orchards.

The olive orchards of Slovenia are in the most northerly region where olives are cultivated, and they are frequently exposed to frost (Meze, 1959). Terraced landscapes used for olive production can be found on the coastal area of Trieste Bay and in lower hills up to 250 m a.s.l.; rarely, olives are cultivated in areas up to 300 m a.s.l. It has been speculated that olive cultivation expanded in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, when the first





**Figure 1:** An olive orchard in Padna, where some individual olive trees are more than 300 years old (Photo: I. Vrhovnik, 2011).

taxes on olive oil were recorded (Meze, 1959). Olive production took several step backs in more recent recorded history (Meze, 1959), due both to environmental factors (frequent exposure to frost) and market conditions (competition with wine growing). Both of these factors affect cultivation in Gorizia Hills, where, in spite of the region's 20 km air distance from the Adriatic Sea, there are only 44.2 ha of terraced olive orchards and 60.9 ha of olive orchards in total (Table 1). According to the Slovenian Association of Olive Growers, in 1985 olive orchards covered ca 400 ha total. This number corresponds to the area estimate before World War II, if a planting density of 200 – 300 trees per ha is used; namely, there were an estimated 300,000 trees in northern Istria prior to the 1929 frost damage and 120,000 after, and between 50,000 to 60,000 after World War II.

The technology and approaches for creating terraces inside settlements and in the landscape in Slovenian Istria are well described by Ažman Momirski, Berčič, 2016 and Likar, 2017. The following figures describe some typical olive orchards found in northern Istria and the Vipava Valley (Figures 1–5). The oldest olive orchards on terraces can be found on the hills around the village of Padna (Figure 1), where some trees are more than 300 years old. These areas have supplied the coastal cities of Piran and Portorož with fruits and vegetables.



**Figure 2:** An olive orchard in Beneš, Ankaron (Photo: M. Podgornik, 2009), where olive trees were planted around 1990 on terrace plateaus with grass slopes between 10 and 20%.

This kind of highly fragmented land structure with small orchards allows only extensive olive growing. This increases olive oil production costs immensely. Due to the slope height (in some cases up to 3 m), harvesting is very difficult. In addition, trees in Istria are traditionally Y shaped, which results in lower yields per area. Maintaining terraces is costly due to the high slopes that need regular grass mowing performed either manually or with specially adjusted machinery. The olive tree crown has to be open, tree spacing is 6m x 7m (Figures 2 and 5), and trees with such dimensions need manual harvesting. Though the recommended form for olive tree cultivation is open vase, with a higher density of trees (4–5 m x 3–5 m, or higher if the form is spindle bush, Štampar and Jakopič, 2017), the natural conditions of Slovenian Istria – namely the shape and size of the terraces – do not permit this approach. Experiments with higher planting density resulted in the replanting of the olive trees due to poor machinery access and lighting. The estimated production costs are 12 € per liter of olive oil. As discussed at the beginning of this section, there are no areas suitable for intensive olive production like, e.g., orchards in Spain, where olive trees are planted 4 m x 1.5 m (Egea *et al.*, 2017) and costs are ca. 2 € per liter.

Slovenian olive oil commands relatively high prices on the market; however, there is an increasing supply of cheaper, imported olive oil. The only way for olive growers to remain competitive is to focus on the high quality of Slovenian olive oil.



Regularly maintained and mulched inter-row spaces in terraced olive orchards are grounds for subsidies according to the RDP 2014–2020. Furthermore, if a new olive orchard is planted, grass cover has to be planted immediately in order to decrease soil erosion (RDP 2014–2020). Modern era olive orchards enable machine tillage, but they are more prone to degradation in case of abandonment or poor maintenance.

Preserved stone walls (*“suhozidi”* in Slovenian) are terraces of high quality construction. Most were built of stones removed from the fields (Ažman Momirski, Kladnik, 2009). The dimensions of the terraces and tree spacing prevent the use of machinery, so these terraces have to be manually maintained. Renovation is costly and manual labor intensive. Terraces of this type are typical in the cultural landscape of the Slovenian coastal region (Ažman Momirski, Kladnik, 2009; Likar, 2017). These orchards are situated predominantly on the land of the Farmland and Forest Fund of the Republic of Slovenia (Figures 3 and 4).

#### Regulating ecosystem services

The A major focus of prior literature is the role of terraces in regulation and maintenance functions in the mediation of flows in the hydrological cycle and water flow maintenance, which enables soil conservation by reducing soil erosion (e.g. García-Ruiz *et al.*, 2011; Tarolli *et al.*, 2014). The control of surface water runoff is invaluable for the prevention of soil erosion and landslides. Cultivated terraces prevail up to gentle-medium slope land, while uncultivated and wooded areas dominated terraces on steep slopes (García-Ruiz *et al.*, 2013). In this context, poly-cultural olive orchards proved to be a cropping system particularly resilient to global change, irrespective of land slope. Terraced systems and extensive poly-cultural olive orchards play a role in the preservation of ecosystem integrity, landscape quality, and soil functionality, and, therefore, environmental sustainability (García-Ruiz *et al.*, 2013).

The climate in northern Istria is Sub-Mediterranean. The average annual temperature and precipitation rate for the period 1971–2000 were 12.8 °C and 931.2 mm, respectively (Slovenian environment agency, 2014). Traditionally, olive orchards in Slovenian Istria were the most northern point where olives were grown (Meze, 1959) under rain-fed conditions (Podgornik *et al.*, 2017). Frost is historically documented and still a regular occurrence (Figure 6). Frost exposure in the northern areas, such as Gorizia Hills (Meze, 1959), and wind erosion in the Vipava Valley put the natural conditions at the limit for olive growing in the two Coastal regions, which is reflected in the areas under olive orchards (Table 2). The soils of northern Istria are fertile, however, and the limiting factor is often the lack of water during the growing season (Vidic *et al.*, 2015). Due to the increased occurrence and intensity of agricultural droughts in humid



**Figure 3:** *An olive orchard in Dekani (Photo: M. Podgornik, 2009), where olive trees were planted on a plateau of the stone wall terrace in 2000.*

Mediterranean regions, monitored irrigation is becoming an increasingly inevitable element of agricultural practice (Podgornik *et al.*, 2017). As a further result of these droughts, in recent years, Slovenian olive growers and producers have faced obstacles to achieving consistent yields and quality of olive oil due to extreme weather conditions (Podgornik *et al.*, 2018). Water retention on the flat areas of a terrace decreases water loss by reducing surface runoff and increasing deep percolation.

Conversely, studies of rainfall erosivity for west and east Slovenia (Ceglar *et al.*, 2008) show that agricultural areas in west Slovenia are the most vulnerable in autumn, when the number of days with rainfall amounts exceeding 40 mm is the highest. An evaluation of soil temperature found that the Sub-Mediterranean region was thermic instead of mesic in the nine years following the year 2000, indicating that the soil thermal regime is changing (Pogačar *et al.*, 2018). Soil conservation practices will be extremely important for mitigating land degradation due to climate change. Slovenia ratified the Convention to Combat Desertification/Land Degradation (CCD) in 2001, as an affected country in the Northern Mediterranean and Central and Eastern Europe regions (Vidic *et al.*, 2015). According to the convention, participating governments are obligated to promote long-term strategies for increased soil production potential, remediation of degraded areas, and the preservation and sustain-



**Figure 4a, 4b: Stonewalled terraces in Baredi (Photo: M. Podgornik, 2018), northern Istria, with olive trees planted in 2001, one area renovated (4a) and one non-renovated (4b).**

able management of soil and water resources. However, the action plan to fight the negative consequences of droughts and soil degradation, such as erosion, soil pollution, hydrogeological hazards, and soil sealing, is still in the preparation stages (Vidic *et al.*, 2015).

In this plan, special attention should be given to the protection of agricultural land, as the agricultural sector is not strong enough to provide for its protection. Soil sealing of the best agricultural lands by urban sprawl has become a severe problem in recent decades, particularly in the coastal region (Berdavs, 2012). As the per capita areal extent of the best agricultural land is already insufficient (less than 900 m<sup>2</sup>, Lisec *et al.*, 2014), all agricultural land in Slovenia, but especially the highest-quality agricultural land, should be protected (Vidic *et al.*, 2015; Grčman, Zupanc, 2018). Terracing slightly increases the arable areas of the slope lands. If done correctly, it is a useful measure to compensate for soil loss.

#### **Terraced olive orchards as habitat**

Agricultural spaces are increasingly included in European metropolitan areas, mainly in the Mediterranean basin. Urban agriculture has multiple functions beside the provision of food, including the preservation of biodiversity, the maintenance of soil fertility, and the assurance of carbon storage. Because of urban expansion, in the space of city-countryside contact, both traditional

agricultural landscapes, as well as the newly realized ones, are threatened by agro-forest systems degradation (Biasi *et al.*, 2017). A study that compares a simple landscape and a complex one showed that the complex landscape contains three times more protected habitats. Interestingly, neither landscape was economically viable, though the simple landscape fared better, showing values of 43 % below the threshold, as compared to the complex one's 185 % (Rescia *et al.*, 2017).

In the past century, European agricultural landscapes and practices have undergone immense change. Technical advances and structural changes of the landscape enhanced productivity, while farmland ecosystems grew increasingly affected by the intensification of activities. Changes occurred not only at the field scale, but also at the landscape level through simplification of the land. Biological functions provided by the system's biodiversity (ecosystem services such as pollination, nutrient cycling, etc.) are also threatened, which could have great economic implications. Sometimes, farmers consider natural enemies as private goods, and do not consider the landscape as a resource for biological pest control by conservation, but rather as a source of pests (Salliou, Bernaud, 2017). The ecosystem services of agricultural landscapes require collective choice and complex negotiations between multiple actors at diverse levels and sectors, and more research on the effects of landscapes on natural enemies, including participatory research in-

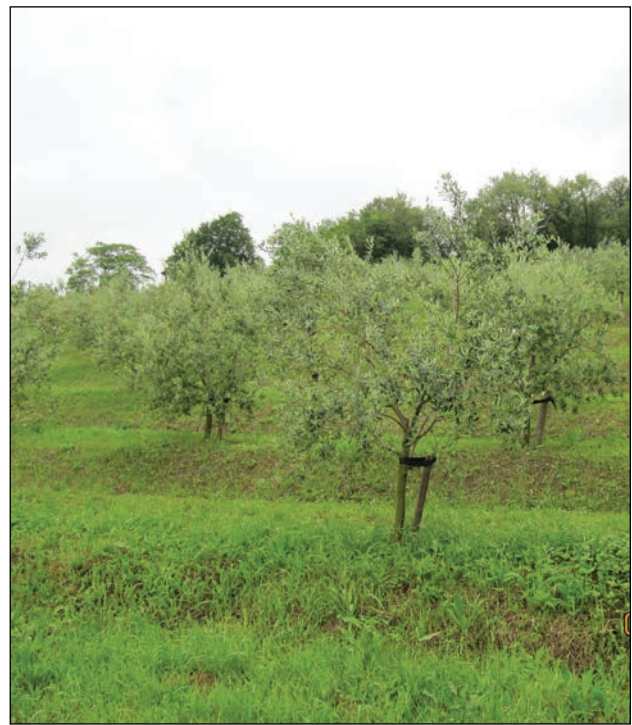


volving dialogues between farmers, crop advisors, and scientists (Salliou, Bernaud, 2017), is needed. As many stakeholders—such as farmers, the local population, the tourism sector, hunters' associations, nature conservation or heritage organizations, water management specialists, and other competing land users—are affected differently by the quality and quantity of diverse outcomes of agricultural landscapes, someone's gain is often someone else's loss (Sayer *et al.*, 2013).

Historically, human activities have shaped the surface of the world. However, in the Anthropocene, these processes are accelerated, sometimes exponentially, e.g., urbanization. One of the ways to reshape the landscape is through land use policy, predominantly from environmental and agricultural sectors. Cultural landscapes that were developed and maintained by traditional agricultural practices are important for the preservation of (European) biodiversity, but they are undergoing changes due to either abandonment or intensification of agricultural production. Nature conservation and agricultural policies on the EU and national levels have developed several instruments to mitigate the negative effects of these trends on biodiversity (Lestan *et al.*, 2016). Farmers remain the most active maintainers of green space and counter-actors against permanent soil loss due to urbanization. The most sustainable strategy is to harmonize the goals of farmers, hunters' associations, and nature conservationists to preserve non-fragmented open green space.

In addition to crop production, these human-managed landscapes support a considerable proportion of the wildlife in this region, which is important for hunters' associations and nature conservationists (Pimentel *et al.*, 1997). From a historical perspective, and from biodiversity perspective, a heterogeneous landscape with arable fields, meadows, slopes with grass margins, paths, temporary water pools, and stone fences represents a habitat mosaic that supports a large diversity of organisms. In return, farmers get ecosystem services provided by these organisms, such as crop pollination, pest control, and soil fertility enhancement. However, the functions of agroecosystems are out of balance (Guštin, 2016), particularly because of the intensification of agricultural production on the one hand and land abandonment and urbanization on the other.

Tree-crop based landscape in peri-urban areas is highly fragmented owing to urbanization (Rühl *et al.*, 2011). Furthermore, additional vulnerability arises from the specific climate and soil threats in the urban context. A maintained traditional agricultural asset can help mitigate this by assuring a high level of habitat diversity and agrobiodiversity, including a large portion of natural capital in the cultivated spaces. Perennial crops help modern cities achieve resiliency and sustainability. There is a need to improve urban areas by including green infrastructure, which provides a favorable outlook for the environment (Ažman Momirski, 2015a). Regeneration of the expand-



**Figure 5:** An olive orchard in Šempas, Vipava Valley (Photo: M. Podgornik, 2016), where olive trees were planted on the plateau of the grass slope terraces in 2011. This is an example of a modern era olive orchard, where mechanized tillage is possible.

ing urban and peri-urban areas through the preservation of agro-forestry is a suitable strategy (Biasi *et al.*, 2017), and indicates that monetary compensation for farmers maintaining or restoring non-agricultural green areas is needed. In Slovenian Istria, where flat areas are scarce, and where there is a supply of cheaper food from other Mediterranean areas, terraced landscapes with olive orchards can be mosaics that also provide green, open space for wildlife. Farmers in northern Istria who cultivate olives on organic farms mow grass covered slopes only once a year to help with biodiversity.

The presence of the terraced agro-ecosystem increases the likelihood of environmental friendly agriculture, owing to the terrace's high provision of ecosystem services, which exerts a positive effect on the preservation of environmental resources in metropolitan cities (Biasi *et al.*, 2017). Understanding the vulnerability determinants of the agro-forestry systems in the metropolitan area could allow us to build an agricultural landscape resilient to soil consumption and biodiversity depletion.

#### Cultural ecosystem services of the terraced landscapes

Terraced landscapes provide several cultural ecosystem services, primarily through aesthetic value and land-



**Figure 6a, 6b:** Cultural landscapes provide a broad spectrum of ecosystem services, from food production and soil-water conservation to habitats and recreational areas, as indicated on these photos of terraced olive orchards in Krkavče and Izola, Slovenian Istria (Photo: M. Podgornik, 2018). On the left, dry olives are damaged from the frost in winter 2017–18.

scape identity. Olive tree cultivation in the Mediterranean goes back to ancient times. During the Roman Age, olive cultivation spread to the entire Mediterranean basin. The Greeks and Romans worked hand in hand with the natural environment as they developed farming and used terraces for olive oil production. Uncultivated landscape was also important to them; hunting was a key social ritual for Greek and Hellenistic elites, and 'wild' places were not considered wastelands but areas that played an essential economic role (Shipley, 2013). This is also true today, as ecosystem services are delivered through physical and experiential interactions, which in modern times are of recreational value, e.g., walking, hiking, and leisure hunting, all of which provide opportunities to enjoy the wilderness and landscape ecosystems.

Olive trees are economic, social, and cultural symbols of the inhabitants of this basin and help determine its rural landscape (Loumou, Giourga, 2003). Therefore, it is not surprising that coastal tourist establishments seek to expand their offerings of activities in protected areas and cultural landscapes, such as salt pans (Faganel and Trnavčević, 2012) and terraced agricultural landscapes (Ažman Momirski, 2015b). The fast paced, unsuitably planned urban expansion currently occurring in a dispersed pattern in the area is increasing the fragmentation of unbuilt areas (Berdavs, 2012). Unfortunately, as Guštin (2016) indicates, the cultural landscape identity of northern Istria is changing, and traditional landscapes require protection or they are subject to disappearance. This is happening throughout the Mediterranean, where cultural landscapes are currently undergoing intense transformations, resulting in a polarization of land uses across an intensification-abandonment continuum (Martinez-Sastre *et al.*, 2017).

As shown by Guštin (2016), there is a substantial discrepancy between the present state of the cultural

landscape and the landscape as presented in materials intended to attract tourists. Tourist brochures often present the rural Istrian landscape as an idyllic place. In their descriptions they usually mention agricultural elements of the landscape (e.g., vineyards, olive orchards, agricultural terraces, hard-working farmers). In reality, the identity of contemporary rural areas is shaped by a mix of production, protection, and agriculture, and on the coastal region, these three functions are not in balance (Guštin, 2016), with added on-going urban expansion (Berdavs, 2012). Rural areas are connected to the Mediterranean (with vineyards, olives, terraces, and food) and to other regions (with thematic trails and brochures), with an implied connection to past time periods. The promotion of the cultural landscape describes a rural landscape the general public wish existed (Guštin, 2016), rather than the current reality; however, in farther-flung areas that are disconnected from the coastal areas, tourist farms can offer a secluded green oasis of terraced landscapes among the hills.

Today, olive cultivation in the Mediterranean is an additional income source that provides winter support for rural populations that profit from summer and sea tourism activities. Although it is an agro-ecosystem, the olive grove resembles the natural Mediterranean ecosystem, and when they are abandoned, they transform into natural Mediterranean-type forests. The change of use from olive cultivation to pasture degrades the ecosystem and decreases the available natural resources because of over-grazing (Loumou, Giourga, 2003). In Slovenia, the importance of olive production shows in the increase in olive orchards and the popularity of Slovenian olive oil, where demand surpasses supply. As in the past, in addition to its provisional function as the main source of nutritional fats, olive oil is the Mediterranean's most val-

uable export product, and is identified with its culture (Loumou, Giourga, 2003). There are also several festivities in close, direct relation to olive production in the coastal region. A new wave of olive growers started their businesses after 1985, when the area under cultivation for olive orchards slowly expanded from an estimated 400 ha to the current 2,293 ha.

In the Mediterranean area, lower, flatter areas are areas of both traditional and intensive forms of olive cultivation. In more marginal, upland areas, there are traditional terraced olive groves, some of which are being abandoned (Allen *et al.*, 2006). In Slovenia, the natural conditions do not allow intensive, irrigated olive production in flat areas, and olive production is limited to smaller, fractioned terraced landscape. However, fragmentation can also be a positive trait. The “mosaic landscape” scenario was widely recognized as the most desirable future landscape configuration, as it allows the supply of a balanced flow of ecosystem services and reduces ecosystem services trade-offs and conflicts among stakeholders (Martínez-Sastre *et al.*, 2017).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Our working hypothesis was that terraced landscapes provide ecosystem services in three categories – provisioning, regulation and maintenance, and cultural.

Distinctive agricultural landscapes, formed by past and present farming practices, growing conditions, and agricultural ecosystems, are multifunctional places of food, fiber, feed and energy production, and also areas of heritage and identity (Penker, 2017). Terraced landscapes provide habitats, help preserve wildlife and distribute genetic material, and improve biodiversity, which benefits people in multiple sectors. Ecosystem services are gaining recognition for their value to people engaged in activities other than agriculture, such as those in the tourism or environmental protection sectors. For stakeholders in tourism sectors, terraced landscapes provide open green space for recreational purposes, human leisure activities, and cultural identification, and improve the aesthetic value of the landscape. Terraced landscapes planted with olive orchards are intricately integrated in the Slovenian coastal region, and they have increasing importance in olive oil production.

Generally, stakeholders in the agricultural space – such as farmers, the local population, the tourism sector, hunters’ associations, nature conservation or heritage organizations, water management specialists, and other competing land users – each benefit from different ecosystem services (Penker, 2017).

Land use is under the influence of changing conditions in national and international markets, the evolution of population pressure, the expansion of some subsidized crops to marginal lands, and the development of new terraces affected by landslides and intense soil erosion during extreme rainstorm events (García-Ruiz

*et al.*, 2011). However, ecosystem services, such as the conservation of soil and the decrease of surface water flow and erosion rates benefit not only people in the agricultural sector, but also the broader community, as they need e.g., less road maintenance and removal of channel and river bed sediments. Yet, agriculture is the most important maintainer of green space, and in order to protect the ecosystem services of agricultural landscapes and prevent abandonment, multiple actors at diverse levels and sectors must reach an agreement. Acknowledging that different legal regulations restrict farmers in their land-use choices in favor of societal landscape goals (Penker, 2017), recent EU agriculture and nature conservation policies explicitly target cultural landscape preservation (Golobič, Lestan, 2016), recognizing the importance of the ecosystem services cultural landscapes provide, and the necessity for monetary compensation for the farmers. The premise is that while more than one sector benefits from terraced landscapes with olive orchards, the cost and duty of maintenance of terraced landscape falls solely on individuals active in agricultural sector.

A study evaluating the impact of EU policy on land use changes in Slovenia showed positive impacts in areas where either intensification or afforestation processes have already diminished landscape diversity (Golobič, Lestan, 2016). The area planted with olive orchards is increasing, and in the absence of agricultural land in flat areas, new terraced orchards are constructed. Due to the method of construction, their perseverance is connected with regular maintenance of the slopes and grass cover, which is subsidized (RDP 2014–2020). Olive cultivation has left its mark on life in the Mediterranean and has contributed to the sustainability of natural resources. Nevertheless, it can succumb to the pressure of current socioeconomic situations. Today, the conservation of olives in production constitutes a necessity for fragile Mediterranean ecosystems and a challenge for everybody involved (Fleskens, de Graaff, 2008; Loumou, Giourga, 2003).

Furthermore, across the Mediterranean, the intensification of olive cultivation has been encouraged by subsidies from the European Union, leading to rapid landscape change (Allen *et al.*, 2006).

In areas with more intensive olive production, two major factors threaten traditional olive cultivation: (i) competition from intensive olive groves in plain and irrigated areas and (ii) competition from cheaper seed oils. These factors intensify the risk that traditional olive groves will be abandoned or converted pasture, resulting in the deterioration of the ecosystem (Loumou, Giourga, 2003). In Slovenia, pure olive oil producers face uneven competition from olive oil providers who mix cheaper seed oil with olive oil to decrease prices, and have called for stricter control. Currently, there is a stable demand for Slovenian olive oil, which favorably influences the construction of terraces and the planting



of new olive orchards. As olive trees are known for their longevity, with suitable policies terraced landscapes could remain a key part of complex agroecosystems in peri-urban areas.

### CONCLUSION

In the past, people built terraces primarily to create favorable conditions for growing crops, ensure food production, protect the land from erosion, and ensure a beneficial microclimate for crops. Today terraced landscapes are widely recognized for their multifunctional value and ecosystem services as providers of flat areas for crop production and measures against land degradation and landslides, as well as preservers of biodiversity, cultural identity, and soil water for climate change adaptation and mitigation.

Though terraced landscapes, particularly those in remote areas disconnected from the more populated

coastal areas, face land abandonment, poor maintenance, and overgrowing, their value is recognized in other sectors. As a cultivated cultural landscape element, olive orchards on terraces play an important role in tourism and could provide much needed added value for local small businesses and tourist farms.

The phenomenon of terraces in northern Istria is therefore just as important as it was in the past. The skills and experience of the past generations that built and maintained terraced landscapes are not outdated. Such a valuable landscape must be dealt with comprehensively, systematically, and with a long term strategy.

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## PRIDELAVA OLJK NA TERASIRANI POKRAJINI V SEVERNI ISTRI

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## POVZETEK

Obdelovalne terase severne Istre so pomemben, značilen element kulturne krajine, ki nudi in omogoča številne ekosistemske storitve. Odprt zelen prostor je podvržen spremembam zaradi širitve urbanih naselij, gradnje infrastrukture ter opuščanja obdelave tal. nasadi oljk so edina kategorija rabe kmetijskih zemljišč, katere površina se je povečala v zadnjih dvajsetih letih. V prispevku obravnavamo različne ekosistemske storitve terasirane krajine z oljčniki na območju severne Istre. Terasirana krajina ohrani večnamensko vrednost pri boju proti degradaciji tal ter izboljšanju vodne bilance tal, kar je pomembno za prilagoditev na in blaženje učinkov klimatskih sprememb. Nadalje, terasirana krajina, še zlasti v zaledju, na območjih, ki niso v stiku z bolj poseljenimi območji neposredno ob obali, je izpostavljena zaraščanju, slabemu vzdrževanju in zapuščena. Vendarle se kaže pozitiven trend v porastu površin pod terasami z oljčniki. K temu prispeva povpraševanje po slovenskem oljčnem olju. Prav tako se vedno bolj prepoznava vrednost tega tipa krajine pri drugih deležnikih rabe prostora, kot so turizem in prosti čas ter storitve za biotsko pestrost. Kot prepoznaven, sestavni del kulturne krajine lahko oljčniki igrajo pomembno vlogo v ponudbi turističnih kmetij.

**Ključne besede:** kulturne terase, severna Istra, ekosistemske storitve, erozija tal, degradacija tal

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## DERAILING MODERN DEMOCRACIES: THE CASE OF YOUTH ABSENCE FROM AN INTERGENERATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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### ABSTRACT

*Elderly people in the developed world are generally the strongest growing age group and their political clout has increased significantly due to these demographic trends. As both young people and the elderly are important beneficiaries of key public policies (e.g. education, care), the competition for already insufficient resources is fierce and may result in either fabricated or true intergenerational conflicts. The purpose of this paper is to explore ways contemporary representative democracies suffer from legitimacy issues related to political participation and the representation of underrepresented groups, primarily young people, as well as to discuss approaches allowing alienated groups to become fully involved in the political process. The article initially explains the evidence behind claims of the emerging new social and consequently political conflict between young people and the elderly, primarily signalling the reversed flow of intergenerational transfers in high-income countries with lower fertility rates. After detailed scrutiny of the problems of legitimacy and representation as related to generational inequity, the article concludes with a discussion about approaches to improving agency and revising the political structure so as to allow for inclusive governance processes and a more democratic polity.*

**Keywords:** youth, political participation, political representation, intergenerational dialogue

## DERAGLIAMENTO DELLE DEMOCRAZIE MODERNE: IL CASO DELL'ASSENZA DEI GIOVANI NELL'OTTICA INTERGENERAZIONALE

### SINTESI

*Le persone anziane nel mondo sviluppato sono generalmente la fascia di età con il più alto tasso di crescita e il loro peso politico in seguito a queste tendenze demografiche è aumentato in maniera significativa. Poiché i giovani e gli anziani sono entrambi importanti beneficiari delle principali politiche pubbliche (per es. istruzione, sanità), la competizione per le già insufficienti risorse è agguerrita e può portare a conflitti intergenerazionali costruiti ad arte o reali. Lo scopo del presente articolo è di esplorare i modi in cui le democrazie rappresentative contemporanee risentono dei problemi di legittimità associati alla partecipazione politica e alla rappresentanza di gruppi sottorappresentati, principalmente dei giovani, nonché di discutere di approcci che permetterebbero ai gruppi alienati pieno coinvolgimento nel processo politico. L'articolo inizialmente spiega le prove a sostegno delle asserzioni sulla formazione di un nuovo conflitto sociale e, di conseguenza, politico tra i giovani e gli anziani, innanzi tutto segnalando il flusso inverso di trasferimenti intergenerazionali nei paesi ad alto reddito e tassi di natalità più bassi. Dopo un esame approfondito dei problemi di legittimità e rappresentazione in relazione all'inequità intergenerazionale, l'articolo conclude con una discussione sugli approcci al miglioramento del servizio e revisione della struttura politica allo scopo di permettere processi di governance inclusiva e una politica più democratica.*

**Parole chiave:** giovani, partecipazione politica, rappresentanza politica, dialogo intergenerazionale



## THE PROBLEM OF INTERGENERATIONAL INEQUITY AND THE WAY IT RELATES TO LEGITIMACY ISSUES

Regardless of the fact that young people today comprise the largest generation in history with 1.8 billion individuals (ICPD, 2014, 1),<sup>1</sup> 85 per cent of them live in developing countries (The Economist, 23 January 2016). Just as their peers in the developing world, young people in developed countries are exploring strategies to master the challenges erected by the needs and circumstances of preceding generations. Despite being better educated, more equipped to harness information provided by the ICT advancements, and enjoying freedoms their predecessors could barely have imagined, they are less likely to be employed<sup>2</sup> and are likely to face a labour market with rules that are rigged against them. These concerns are relevant regardless of the definition of youth,<sup>3</sup> which is becoming progressively more challenging and individualised (Bradley and van Hoof, 2005), consequently exposing deficiencies of policy making based on age-group boundaries and the politics it in general rests on. In addition, because the social conditions and other relevant factors of the members of these groups differ, they can hardly be viewed as cohesive or homogeneous; after all, intra-group differences are sometimes even greater than diversity between groups. However, significant general patterns based on age may be observed, as individuals within different age-groups share some distinct challenges that impede upon their ability to participate in society on an equal footing.

Contrary to young people in the developing world, elderly people in the developed world are generally the strongest growing age group and young people are the ones losing in relative numerical importance. The weight of older<sup>4</sup> and middle-aged people in Europe has increased significantly whereas young people are a diminishing group as a percentage of the total and the adult population (see Kohli, 2010). The number of minors between ages 0 and 18 decreased from 1970 to 2000 by almost one quarter and this unfavourable demographic trend<sup>5</sup> (see Figure 1), co-created by the change in longevity of life (life expectancy) of the present-day elders, introduced completely different structural challenges than the ones the working-age population and young

people faced in the late 1960s. Young people will therefore have to participate more and for longer periods of time during their professional careers, are projected to enjoy shorter retirement periods with a less extensive set of rights, and are currently exposed to severe hostilities in their quests to find non-precarious jobs (see Samek Lodovici and Semenza, 2012).

Young people also face severe pressures from their social environments to build their careers and organize their lives even though they are still likely to be in education or in their early professional careers and only partially embedded in the labour market (Kohli, 2010). Bradley and van Hoof (2005, 246) thus talk about fractured, precarious, and lengthened transitions young people take into the world of work, as caused by the changes in the structure of labour market opportunities, policies promoting flexibility among the labour force, rapidly rising cost of housing and other relevant factors. This is inherently related to uncertainty in the transition to adulthood as economic instability and temporal uncertainty makes young people deeply uncertain and unable to commit in terms of long-term binding decisions related to partnership and parenthood (see Mills and Blossfeld, 2009, 106–108).

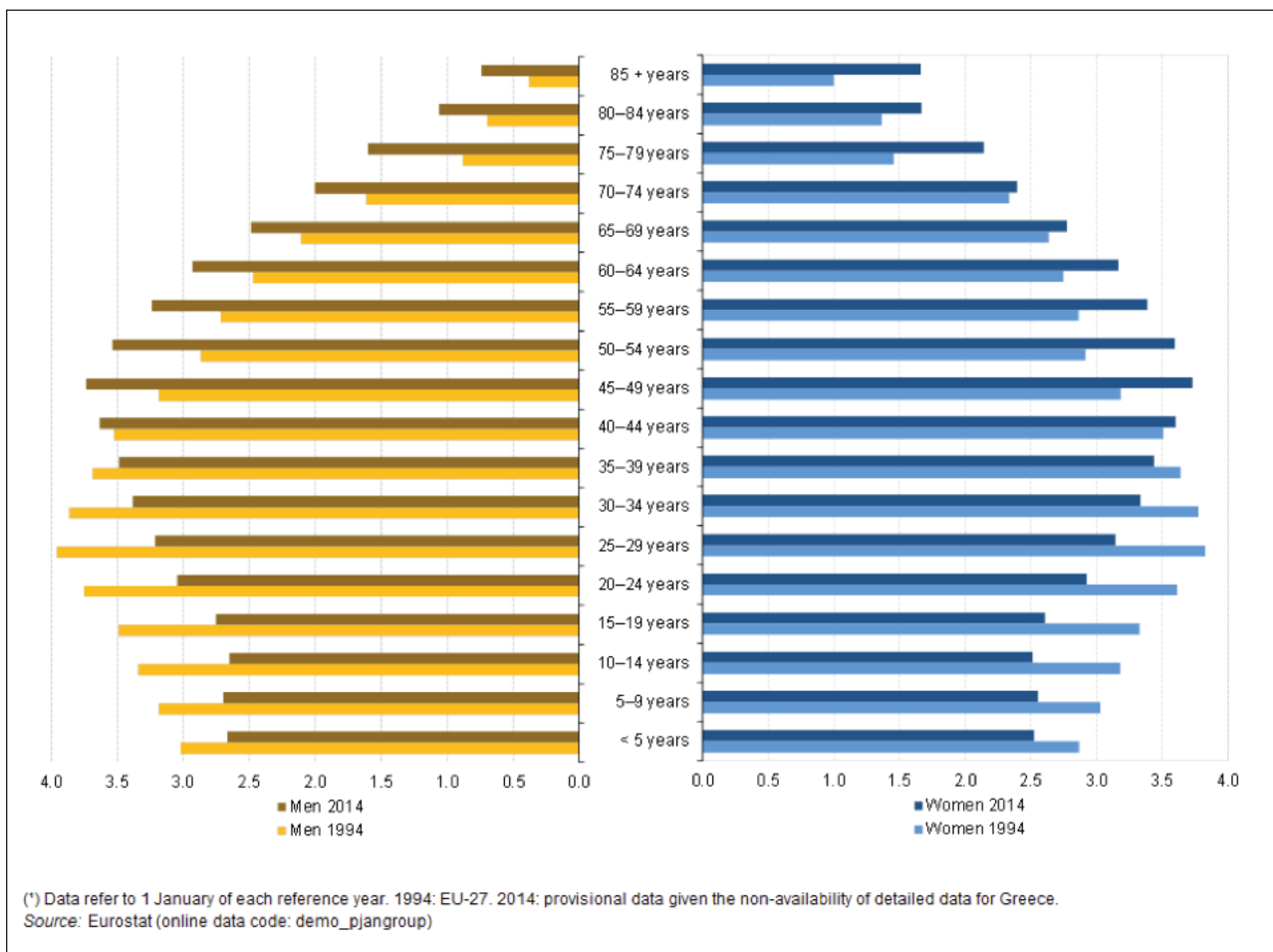
The problems outlined above contribute to the increasing disconnection of young people from institutional politics and democratic life in general (Hoff, 2008; Deželan, 2015;), far more than the life-cycle theory of political participation predicts (see Nie et al., 1974). The absence of younger generations from key democratic processes makes their interest less represented, limits the potential of public policies, and delegitimizes the entire political community. In the context of fierce competition for insufficient resources this can also result in a fabricated or true intergenerational conflict, which tends to be abused in the political party arena. The purpose of this paper is therefore to explore ways contemporary representative democracies suffer from legitimacy issues related to intergenerational inequity and its effects, disparity in the way contemporary political institutions fit to patterns of citizenship of different age-groups, as well as to identify mechanisms to facilitate inclusive governance processes and more democratic polity.

1 International Conference on Population Development's methodology defines youth as a group of individuals aged between 10 and 24 (ICPD, 2014).

2 More than 15 per cent of young individuals in high-income countries are not in education, employment or training (NEET). For middle-income countries this rate is 25 per cent (The Economist, 23 January 2016).

3 As a period of transition from the dependence of childhood to independent adulthood and interdependence as members of community, youth is a challenging category to define in terms of age. On the other hand, age is the easiest way to define this group, particularly in relation to education and employment (UNESCO, 2017). Depending on the context different authorities and different international governmental and non-governmental organizations use different definitions of youth, from 15 to 24 for statistical consistency across regions, to more flexible definitions in various national contexts and supranational contexts ranging from 15 to 29 (European Youth Strategy) and even from 15 to 35 (African Union) (EC, 2017; UNESCO, 2017).

4 We define older people, particularly in the European context, with the age of 60 since this is for now an approximation of a retirement age. Retirement is posited as an important social division point when individuals leave the labor market and become increasingly more dependent on state services (see Kohli, 2010).



**Figure 1: Population structure by five-year age groups and sex, EU-28, 1994 and 2014 (% share of total population) (Eurostat, 2016).**

## ARE CONTEMPORARY DEMOCRACIES LEGITIMATE?

### The generational inequity argument

Changing demographic situation described above has led many researchers to discuss the existence of a new social conflict based on age (e.g. Kohli, 2010; Tremmel, 2008; 2010; Goerres, 2010). As a consequence of the pacification of the class battle by granting workers certain assurances of social stability, including the institutionalisation of retirement funded through public social security funds (Kohli, 1987) age proves to be pivotal for public entitlements and obligations. Public redistribution is built on a sequence of clearly delimited periods of life (Kohli, 2010) and the elderly have become the main beneficiaries of the welfare state. This in itself is not problematic since all individuals will live through life stages according to an institutionalized schedule (Kohli, 2006, 458) and various treatment of age groups can therefore be morally justified due to their distinctive needs (see Daniels, 1988). However, despite the perennial model of the old supporting the young –

a pattern valid throughout human history – Lee and Mason (2014) find evidence that in high-income countries with lower fertility rates the net flow of resources is now reversing from young to the old. With public spending favouring pensions and health care for the elderly over education for the young, the age-group distribution described above suddenly becomes generational redistribution (as societal generations have fixed membership, are determined by being born in a certain time period, and share the same historical experience; see Kohli, 2006, 458) that suffers from the lack of equity.

As there are no legitimate grounds for the unequal treatment of different societal generations, the sharing of burdens among them becomes unfair and unjust since not every generation can expect to receive the same treatment as the preceding and the following ones at each stage of life (Kohli, 2006, 463). As the unequal position of generations in distributions of burdens is increasingly creating grounds for a new (social) conflict, conditions form that will additionally drive young people from the political process completely.

### The political participation argument and its link to legitimacy

If the interpretation of democracy is rule by the people, then the question of who participates in political decisions becomes the nature of democracy itself (Verba and Nie, 1972, 1). As a form of government in which the people rule and which entails a political community where there is some form of political equality among the people (Held, 2006), participation holds a special place. This is also the *raison d'être*, in its various forms, defended on the grounds that it comes closest to achieving one or more of the following fundamental values or goods: rightful authority, political equality, liberty, moral self-development, common interest, a fair moral compromise, binding decisions that take everyone's interest into account, social utility, the satisfaction of wants, and efficient decisions. Democracy offers the consent of the governed as the most compelling principle of legitimacy and the basis of political order (Held, 2006, ix). And regardless of the debates about the most appropriate model of democracy, it is clear that political participation is and always has been a prerequisite for every democratic system.

Macedo and others (2005, 4–6) provide a set of contemporary arguments for robust citizen engagement in democratic process that focus on its relevance for the functioning of democratic communities. First, wide civic engagement improves the quality of democratic governance. Knowledge of the citizenry's interests is a vital requirement for democratic decision-making, and the preferences of citizens are generally presented by making use of various modes of participation. Second, participation can improve citizens' lives since it holds value in and of itself, because the self-government of the people is supposed to involve the exercise of distinctive human capacities and is an intrinsically noble enterprise. John Stuart Mill argued that participation is a form of learning together because making binding public decisions strengthens citizens' active faculties, exercises their judgment, and gives them familiar knowledge about the subjects they have to deal with (see Levine, 2007, 41). Third, Macedo and others (2005, 5) stress the importance of participation in voluntary and non-profit organisations, as membership in groups and involvement in social networks correlate to higher individual satisfaction with the quality of individual and community life. Fourth, the condition of democratic life is not fulfilled by the fact that government by the people alone returns the best form of governance; it also implies that a government is legitimate when the people as a whole participate in their own self-rule. In cases when important groups of citizens

are substantially less active and influential than others are the conditions of collective self-rule are eradicated, and the political order suffers from problems of legitimacy.

As democratic developments transformed the decision-making processes and ensuing implementation that were traditionally associated with the government and public administration, the focus tilted towards the mechanisms and actors of governance themselves. Contemporary modes of governance in the democratic West supplement traditional institutional forms of governing and channels with the coordination of social systems, public-private relations, and increasing reliance on informal authority. And even though democracy and good governance do not necessarily go hand in hand (Fukuyama, 2013, 9), the central notion of "public" governance is the application of new modes of activities in order to enable the participation of all relevant stakeholders in the political process (Bevir, 2010). It is participation that spurs the broadening of responsibility for the decisions adapted to each and every citizen and their commitments towards society, thereby fostering public political competences and improving collective decision-making (Nekola, 2006). And participation in the governance processes also allows for the latent or manifest conflicts between social groups to get resolved openly in a non-zero-sum manner (Pierre and Peters, 2000).

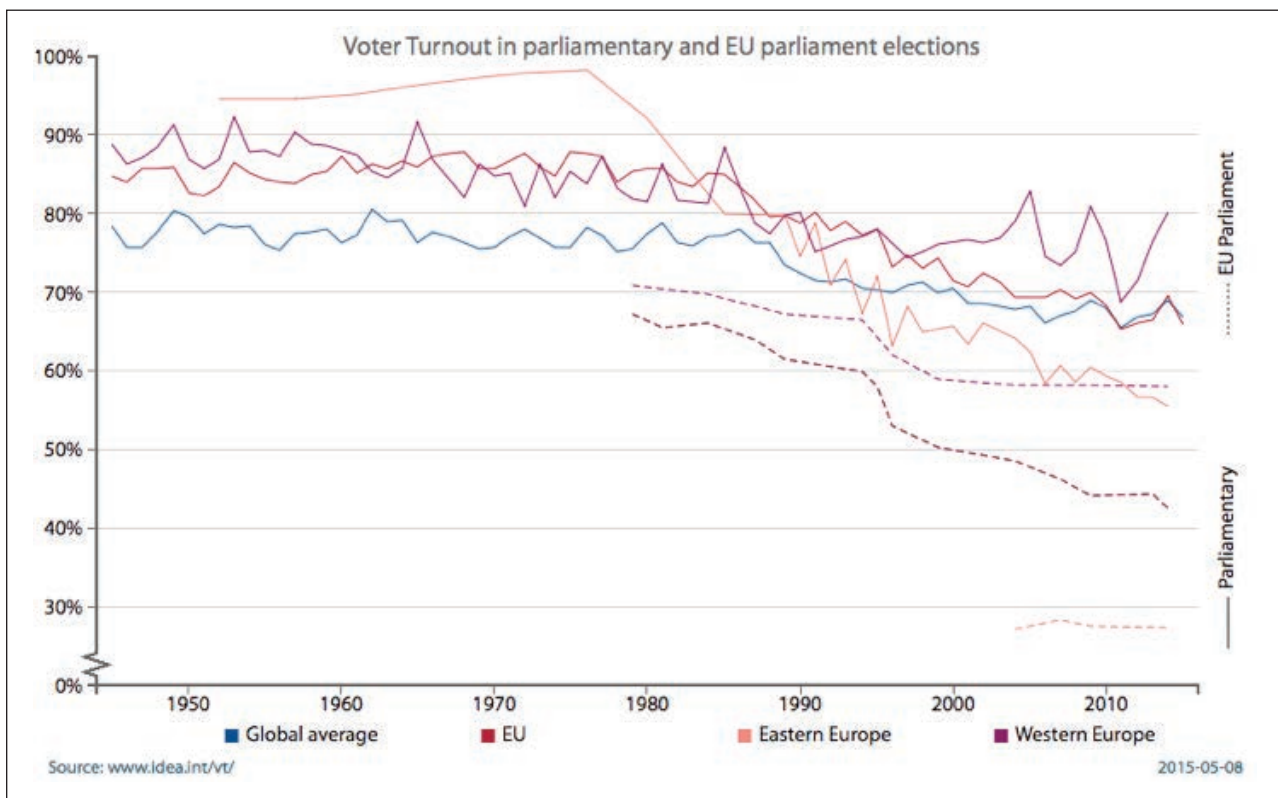
The broadly accepted expression "the more participation there is in decisions, the more democracy there is" (Verba and Nie, 1972, 1) thus directly links democracy and participation. The majority of contemporary models of democracy<sup>6</sup> rely on high levels of popular participation and encourage the participation of a knowledgeable citizenry with a sustained interest in the governing process. This in effect provides the best mechanism for the articulation of interests, performs an educative role among citizens and is an essential mechanism of citizen influence on decision-makers, which is directly linked to the responsiveness of governments (O'Neill, 2009, 7). The abovementioned set of normative and empirical arguments therefore accentuate the relevance of political participation of all groups of population for the legitimacy of a democratic regime and the quality of a democratic polity. In fact, it also heavily impacts the level of political representation.

### The political representation argument

The principle of equity can be linked to political participation through political representation. Specifically, one of the best ways to increase political equity

6 Even the most elitist or "thin" conceptions of democracy consider the political participation of citizens as necessary, despite usually being restricted to voting in general elections for the selection of political representatives (O'Neill, 2009, 7). "Thick" conceptions go beyond elitist views of Schumpeter and alike and enshrine widespread political participation as a necessary precondition for the existence of a democratic polity.





**Figure 2: Voter turnout in parliamentary and EU parliamentary elections for the EU, Eastern European and Western European countries compared to the global average (IDEA, 2015).**

to increase the total number of people who participate in order to ensure that the least active are better represented (Levine, 2007, 22–27). There is plenty of evidence to back up the claim that as long as young people's participation in politics remains low, they should expect to get relatively little from the government (Martin, 2012, 107), because there will be very little incentive for politicians to focus on policies that benefit them. Although other age groups can also represent youth interests, the accumulated empirical evidence shows that this is not the case (see Macedo et al., 2005; Martin, 2012).

Political participation therefore has a direct link to political representation. We can examine representation through several lenses: the symbolic (the meaning a representative has for the represented), the descriptive (the degree of resemblance between the representative and the represented), and the substantial (the actions taken in the interest of the represented) (see Pitkin, 1967), but even though the bulk of attention is usually paid to substantive representation, there are instances in which the other forms are of particular importance. Mansbridge (1999) stresses the importance of descriptive representation for marginalized and

disaffected groups that distrust other, relatively more privileged citizens. In such cases, these groups feel that their political preferences must be represented by someone who belongs to the same group in order to establish adequate communication in the context of mistrust.

The huge distrust young people have in institutional politics has exacerbated the growing alienation of this segment of the population from electoral politics and the institutions of representative democracy.<sup>7</sup> The recent economic crisis and subsequent austerity measures, placing a disproportionate burden on young people, have made this situation even worse (see Georgallis and Moyart, 2014). Based on the presented normative and empirical arguments establishing a link between public policies and political representation, having political representation improves the chances of relating to and engaging in the political process (see Mansbridge, 1999; Pitkin, 1967). Looking from the demographic perspective, the youth demographic is the group that tends to be the most affected by these processes, as the ability of other age-groups, primarily the elderly, to influence policy makers is increasing due to their numerical advantage. Improving the political

<sup>7</sup> To explore the factors causing alienation of youth from institutional politics see Smets and Van Ham (2013), Soler-i-Martí (2015), Putnam (2000), Dalton (2009), Norris (2002), Hooghe and Stolle (2005), Macedo et al. (2005), Rosanvallon (2008) etc.

representation of youth through various institutional mechanisms or through supporting agency-related programmes has the potential to establish more enabling conditions for young people to relate to and engage in the political process, as well as decrease the tendency of political actors to portray politics as an intergenerational zero-sum game for resources.

#### THE EVIDENCE BEHIND THE LEGITIMACY PROBLEM

##### Declining political participation

Participation in decisions about a common fate is neither fully granted nor exploited. Macedo and others (2005, 6) claim there is an abundance of scientific evidence indicating that political institutions are more responsive to those who mobilise. This taps into a very relevant problem of political participation that was conventionally the lowest with the youngest and the oldest groups of population due to features inherent to each life cycle. The normal distribution changed, thus also altering the cohort of citizens who are actively engaged in the formulation, passage, and implementation of public policies. As high participation rates are vital for the health of democracies regardless of ideological viewpoints, many are concerned about the general downward trend in political participation across the democratic world, voter turnout in particular. A gradual drop in a few percentage points per decade has accelerated dramatically since the 1980s and presents a major challenge to democracies across the world (López Pintor et al., 2002).

Official statistics that are available for most of the world's democracies support these observations, and they are particularly valid in the case of European countries (see Figure 2). Regardless of communist or non-communist legacies, official statistics have indicated that the decline has been particularly evident in the post-1990s period. Compared with Western European countries, the countries of the former communist bloc still clearly perform worse, with an average turnout in national elections of less than 60 per cent, and with factors affecting turnout that are different from more established democracies (see Kostadinova and Power, 2007).

Insufficient participation levels neither uniformly affect all societies nor equally affect all sub-groups of the population. Age has proven to be one of the strongest predictors of participation (see Zukin et al., 2006; Stolle and Hooghe, 2009) and can now be used to indicate whether a person will vote or not. The data found by the European Parliament Election Study 2014 (see Schmitt et al., 2015) portray a shocking landscape of voter abstention across Europe, particularly among

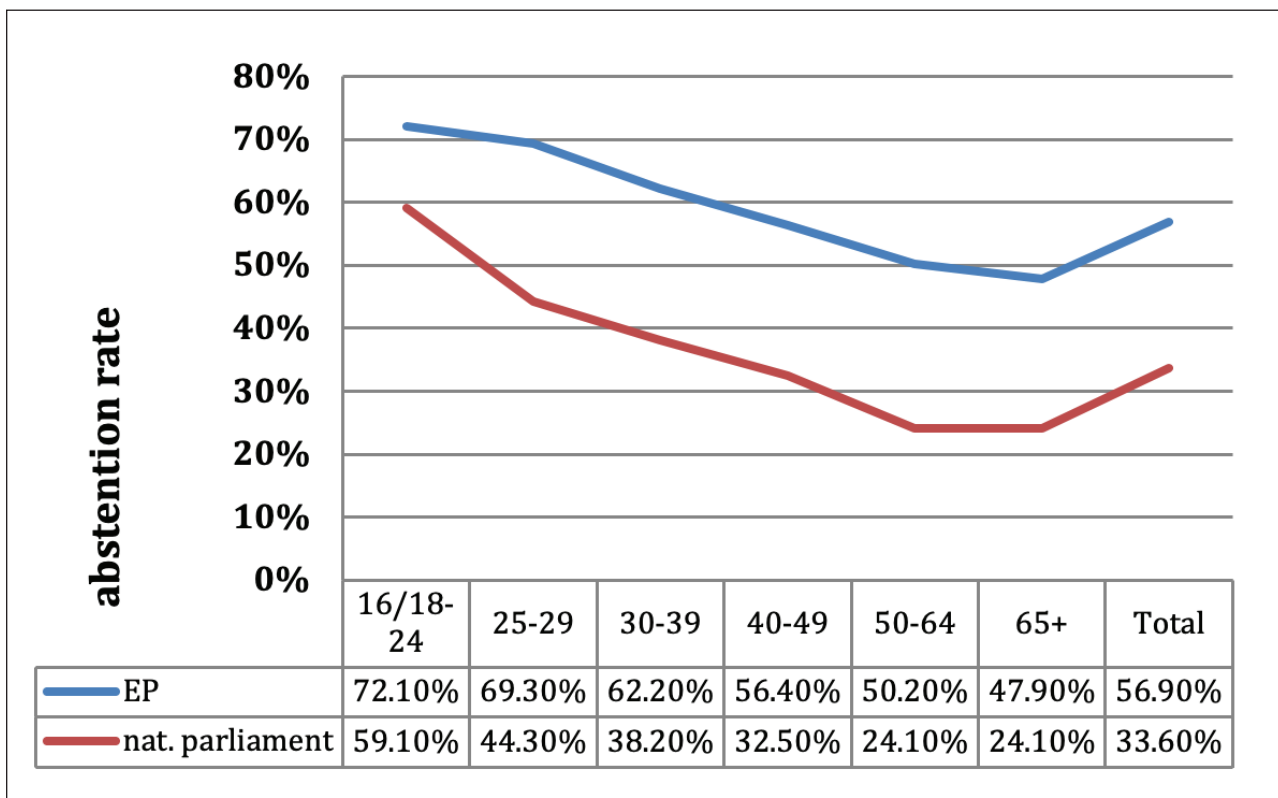
the youngest cohorts of eligible voters. The EU28 level of absenteeism on EP elections was higher than 70 per cent for the 16/18-24 age group, and only fractionally below 70 per cent for the 25-29 age group. This is a staggering disparity compared with the 47.9 per cent turnout of voters aged 65 and older, and it indicates the widespread absence of young people from EU institutional politics. Even though comparisons between EP and national elections are very difficult and complex due to the second-order nature of the former (see Reif and Schmitt, 1980), the general pattern of youth being substantially less participative is replicated. The level of young people absenteeism remains surprisingly high, and the gap between young people and other age groups changes marginally. Young people prove to be alarmingly absent from national elections: in the EU 28 area almost 60 per cent of eligible voters between 16/18 and 24 opted not to vote in the last election (see Figure 3).<sup>8</sup>

Numerous studies (e.g. Verba and Nie, 1972; Dalton 1996; 2009) indicate that the gap between young and elderly voters has widened considerably across the democratic world. The fact that young people are increasingly detached from traditional politics and structures is further emphasized when looking at the willingness of young people to stand as candidates in a political election, which is far less frequent than for other age groups (see Deželan, 2015). This severely reduces the pool of potential future political representatives, thus making democratic systems more vulnerable. Other modes of conventional political participation have revealed the same patterns; i.e. significantly lower overall levels of participation of young people in campaign activities, frequency of contacting officials, being part of political organizations, etc. (see Moyser, 2003, 179). Young people are thus the least active age group virtually across all participation areas in the European countries (see also Goerres, 2010, 215). This is particularly evident in a decrease in party membership among young people (e.g. Hooghe et al., 2004; Seyd and Whiteley, 2004; Cross and Young, 2008), thus hindering political parties' recruitment and mobilisation functions and having a seriously negative effect on the political representation of young people. Participation in institutional politics is therefore undeniably skewed against youth and the challenge is how to get young people more involved, as their absence from institutional politics presents a serious challenge to the legitimacy of the political process.

##### The representation deficit

The representation figures do not improve the grim image contemporary democracies are facing in the long run. The low numbers of young national par-

8 To analyze the factors behind this form of absenteeism at the individual level see Snell (2010).



**Figure 3: Voter absenteeism in elections to the European parliament (EP) and national parliaments for EU28 (Did you yourself vote in the recent European Parliament elections? “Did not vote”; Did you yourself vote in the (NATIONAL ELECTIONS)? “Did not vote”)** (Schmitt et al., 2015).

liamentarians demonstrate the impact of low youth participation levels and reinforce patterns of distrust towards political institutions (see Mansbridge, 1999), as policies are generally made for youth and not by youth. In addition to the already mentioned low membership levels of young people in political parties, there are several reasons behind such low representation levels in parliaments, among them the minimum eligibility age requirement, especially in the case of upper houses, unfavorable electoral systems with few elements of proportional representation,<sup>9</sup> as well as the general tendency to opt for experience when it comes to politics, as this tends to be implicitly linked to competence (IPU, 2014). This last factor also indicates the general inclusiveness of the political structure towards inferior social groups, either in terms of power or in terms of numbers. To be precise, taking into account parliaments across the globe, there is a clearly positive statistically significant correlation between the levels of representation of young people and women in lower and upper houses (IPU, 2014, 15).

Research has shown that the percentage of parliamentarians younger than 30 in national parliaments

across OECD states is higher than 2 per cent only in exceptional cases (see Tremmel, 2006, 211). In its latest study the IPU (2014, 7) stresses that on average only 1.9 per cent of deputies in single and lower houses and 0.3 per cent of deputies in upper houses are below the age of 30. The share of members of parliament below the age of 30 exceeds a 10 per cent threshold only in four countries (Ecuador, Finland, Norway and Sweden) and alarmingly one-third of all the single and lower houses, and more than 80 per cent of the upper houses, have no members of parliament below the age of 30 at all. A look at the representation of age groups in national parliaments shows that institutional politics rests in the hands of groups where power concentrates, although the position of genders is more balanced within the age group of MPs below the age of 30 compared to other age groups. To be precise, 0.9 per cent of women compared to 1 per cent of men aged below 30 occupy a seat in a national parliament across the world (see Table 1) (IPU, 2016).

Deželan (2015) provides collaborating results as the national parliaments of the selected countries reveal even lower levels of youth representation. Over-

<sup>9</sup> IPU (2014, 7) study of youth political representation observes that countries with proportional representation systems elect approximately twice as many young parliamentarians as mixed systems and 15 to 20 times as many young parliamentarians as majoritarian systems.



**Table 1: Levels of representatives in national parliaments according to age and gender (Source: IPU, 2014; 2016).**

National parliamentarians below the age of 30		Female national parliamentarians below the age of 30	
12.3%	Sweden	7.3%	Ecuador
10.9%	Ecuador	6.5%	Tunisia
10.5%	Finland	5.4%	Sweden
10.1%	Norway	4.2%	Finland
7.1%	Andorra	3.9%	Suriname
6.6%	Italy	3.7%	Ethiopia
6.5%	the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Tunisia	3.6%	Andorra
6.1%	Denmark, Ethiopia	3.5%	Costa Rica, Italy
5.9%	Cuba, Suriname	3.4%	Canada
5.8%	Chile	3.0%	Norway
5.6%	Bhutan, Slovenia	2.9%	Cuba
5.2%	Somalia	2.8%	Serbia, Denmark
5.0%	Latvia	2.5%	Chile
4.8%	Serbia	2.4%	Republic of Macedonia, Trinidad and Tobago
4.7%	Canada	2.3%	Austria
4.6%	Austria	2.0%	Uruguay
4.2%	Kyrgyzstan	1.9%	Argentina
3.9%	Brazil	1.7%	Israel, Kyrgyzstan, Luxembourg
3.5%	Costa Rica	1.6%	Iceland
3.4%	Gambia, Guatemala	1.4%	Somalia, Albania
3.3%	Bulgaria, Luxembourg, San Marino	1.3%	Rwanda
3.2%	Iceland	1.2%	Afghanistan
3.1%	United Kingdom	1.1%	Nicaragua, United Kingdom, Indonesia
3.0%	Uruguay, Zimbabwe	1.0%	Hungary, Switzerland, Czech Republic, Vietnam, Estonia
2.9%	Indonesia, Malta	0.9%	India, Niger, Algeria, Portugal
2.8%	South Africa	0.8%	China, Germany, South Africa
2.7%	Georgia, Netherlands	0.7%	Philippines, Sudan, Georgia, Belgium, Netherlands
2.5%	Germany, Paraguay, United Arab Emirates	0.6%	Ireland, Uganda
2.4%	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sri Lanka, Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela	0.5%	Romania, Sri Lanka
2.3%	Argentina	0.4%	Russian Federation, Bulgaria, Brazil
2.2%	India, Portugal	0.3%	Spain
2.1%	Albania	0.2%	Japan, France
2.0%	Belgium, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Sudan	0.2%	France
1.8%	Niger	0.0%	Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belarus, Bhutan, Bosnia And Herzegovina, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cyprus, Democratic Republic Of The Congo, Dominican Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Gambia (The), Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Latvia, Lebanon, Lithuania, Malaysia, Malta, Micronesia (Federated States Of), Monaco, Mongolia, Montenegro, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Republic of Korea, San Marino, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Timor-Leste, Tuvalu, United Arab Emirates, United Republic Of Tanzania, United States of America, Venezuela, Zambia, Zimbabwe
1.7%	Israel, New Zealand, Philippines		
1.6%	Afghanistan, Morocco		
1.5%	Switzerland		
1.3%	Montenegro, Russian Federation, Rwanda		
1.2%	China, Ireland, Viet Nam		
1.1%	Algeria, Nicaragua, Uganda		
1.0%	Equatorial Guinea, Greece		
0.9%	Burundi, Spain		
0.8%	Armenia, Japan		
0.7%	Croatia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia		
0.6%	United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia		
0.5%	Myanmar		
0.4%	Australia, Syrian Arab Republic		
0.3%	Bangladesh		
0.2%	France		
0.0%	Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Belarus, Cape Verde, Cambodia, Cameroon, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, Cyprus, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Dominican Republic, Gabon, Ghana, Haiti, Iran, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malaysia, Micronesia (Federated States of), Monaco, Mongolia, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Oman, Peru, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Timor-Leste, Thailand, Tuvalu, United States of America		

all, only 0.5 per cent of parliamentarians are younger than 30 in the examined parliaments, and only 0.1 per cent are below the age of 25. Even more disturbing is the fact that although there is a higher number of parliamentarians in the age group of 35 to 39, only 3.4 per cent of deputies are below the age of 35. These results additionally show the persistence of the patriarchy in these representative bodies, as the proportion of young female parliamentarians is rarely higher than one in four. In line with the symbolic as well as descriptive representation arguments (Pitkin, 1967) the comparatively higher absence of young females from young males in representative politics thus creates even fewer incentives for young women to participate in the political process, become a political representative, and influence public policies.

### **Conventional institutional politics and the changed political imaginary of youth**

Political imaginary of individuals is becoming more heterogeneous due to broad societal changes in advanced democracies (Goerres, 2010, 209). Since in liberal democracies citizens are free to participate in politics and political participation encompasses an array of political actions,<sup>10</sup> in practice not all actions are pursued with equal probabilities. While the conventional forms of political actions widely popular at the dawn of the liberal democratic era are somewhat in decline, other forms of participation are emerging (e.g. participation in single-issue organizations, non-institutionalized forms of participation that do not require long-term commitment, internet activism) (see Norris, 2002). Some argue (e.g. Inglehart, 1995) these changes are caused by a broad societal process of post-modernization. Due to the shift towards post-modern values, individuals strive for post-material goods. In addition, the declining control of the state as a bureaucratic authority and the weakened social control of religion promotes individualization (Goerres, 2010, 210) which goes hand in hand with declining trust in government and identification with political parties (Dalton, 2004).

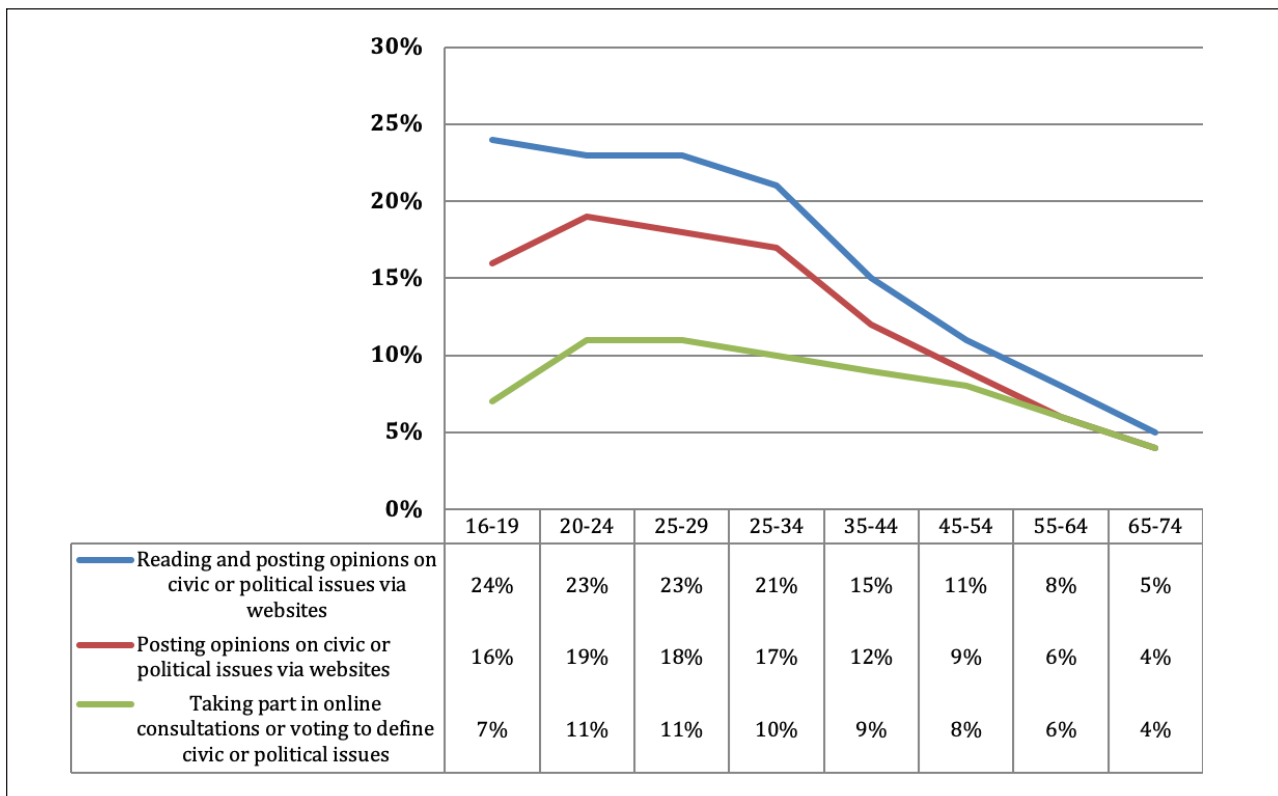
While some believe the decline in participation is a sign of political apathy (see Wattenberg, 2012) and declining engagement in civic life caused by depleting social capital (see Putnam, 2000), there is a bulk of evidence that participation patterns are changing with younger generations, as their link (or participation channel) has significantly altered (e.g. Norris, 2002; Dalton, 2009; Rosanvallon, 2008). That young people are getting more and more detached from traditional politics and structures (Riley et al., 2010) has already been established in previous sections; however,

the sheer numbers of people participating in various modes of unconventional political participation suggest we are not living in an age of political apathy and citizens' withdrawal into the private sphere (Rosanvallon, 2008, 19); we have been witnessing a growing wave of protest politics (see Norris, 2002; Dalton, 1996; 2009), which is displayed when citizens challenge the usual way of doing politics. Young people stand on an equal footing to other age groups in such unconventional forms of politics. Still, there is little proof of the assumed general pattern of young people being more active than other age groups (Barnes et al., 1979).

While acknowledging that particularly participation in institutional politics is at an undesirable level, the repertoire of the actions available for participating in the political process has changed dramatically. Protest politics seems to be particularly attractive to young people nurturing post-materialist values, cause-oriented participation, and ultimately also different (citizen engaged) citizenships (see Dalton, 2009). Norris (2002, 215) thus argues that political activism has been reinvented by the diversification in agencies, repertoires, and targets of political action. The Internet allows these new agencies of political action with a set of innovative repertoires of political expression at their disposal to disrupt 'politics as usual'. It offers significant potential to mobilise groups of individuals in issue-oriented campaigns, as it allows for disparate groups of individuals, with diverse and fragmented political identities, to connect (Chadwick, 2006, 29; Martin, 2012, 108), and also facilitates the formation of issue-based organisations of young people due to the reduction of communication costs, easier access to official sources, and the emergence of crowdfunding, crowdsourcing, and networking practices made possible by technological innovations (Martin, 2012, 110).

With the rise of web 2.0 and social media outlets in particular, there is no doubt that new forms of mass communication have proven more appealing to young people, who are also more willing to experiment with them (Martin, 2012, 102). The way young people are informed about political issues and the way they communicate with others is different than other age groups. Young people are much more likely to gain political information on the Internet, as well as edit and collate different sources of news (Martin, 2012, 105; see Figure 3). Reading and posting about civic or political issues on websites is clearly a form of engagement that young people pursue more actively than other parts of the population. They are more inclined to post their opinions about civic and political issues through blogs and social networks. Eurostat (2015) data on the frequency of taking part in online consultations or vot-

<sup>10</sup> From voting and participating in organizations (political parties, trade unions, NGOs, etc.) to participating outside of organizations (contacting a public official or politician, signing a petition, taking part in demonstrations, buying or boycotting a product for political reasons, etc.).



**Figure 4: Online political participation by age groups (percentage of individuals) (Data source: Eurostat, 2015).**

ing to define civic or political issues, such as urban planning, signing an online petition, or engaging in political deliberation over a certain issue, additionally show that young people in fact do participate politically more over the Internet.

The Internet facilitates the formation of issue-based organisations of young people due to the reduction of communication costs, easier access to official sources, and the emergence of crowdfunding, crowdsourcing, and networking practices allowed by technological innovations (Martin, 2012, 110). The Internet allows civil society actors, including non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and think tanks, to carry out a variety of activities aimed at influencing policy-makers and others through public campaigning, activism, and lobbying (see Ostling, 2014). As such, the Internet has allowed these new agencies of political action, with a set of innovative repertoires of political expression at their disposal, to disrupt 'politics as usual'. The emergence of the Occupy movement, 15M movement, Avaaz.org, Global Exchange, The Dolphin Project, Save Darfur coalition, etc. showcase the opportunities for new and reinvented networks of individuals to mobilise supporters, lobby representatives, network with like-minded organisations, and communicate with traditional media fortresses online in order to influence public or private actors at all levels.

As the political identity and attitudes of young people are less and less shaped by their social ties to their family, neighbourhood, school, or job, but more by the manner in which they participate in the social networks that they co-create, we observe a phenomenon of networked individualism in which the Internet, and particularly social media, take on a central role in the political engagement of individuals (Rainie and Wellman, 2012). These are more likely to participate in non-hierarchical networks, are project-oriented, and enact their social relations through social media. Changed participation patterns and citizenship norms have clear generational implications since younger generations demonstrate a greater inclination toward elite-challenging behaviour while older generations tend to display legitimizing behaviour towards institutional politics (Dalton, 2009; Goerres, 2010). The demise of the dutiful young citizen is, therefore, a long-term process that is shaped by broader economic and social forces that may be characterised by a more individualised, self-actualising, and critical individual, which Loader et al. (2014, 145) call the *networked citizen*. The *networked young citizen* reflects a positive relationship between social media use and political engagement, with the potential to influence longstanding patterns of political inequality (Xenos et al., 2014), implies a change in the process of political



socialisation (Vraga et al., 2014), is mobilised through mass demonstrations against growing social inequalities, such as *Indignados* and *Occupy*, and rejects the political class by participating in the formation of political parties, such as the Italian *Movimento 5 Stelle*, Spanish *Podemos*, or the German *Piratenpartei* (Sloam, 2014). As it is clear that the emerging generations of networked citizens are more and more sceptical of the political class and existing political institutions, it is instrumental to address the following questions in order to reduce the gap between (traditional) political institutions and actors and the emerging forms of (networked) young citizens.

#### WHAT IS THE ALTERNATIVE TO GERONTOCRACY?

The case of the superior numerical advantage of older generations (see Binstock, 2000) raises increasing warnings about the closing window of opportunity for implementing reforms to the welfare state in order to accommodate the needs and habits of young people (see Kohli, 2010).<sup>11</sup> This thinking inherently translates into senseless debates about the “war of generations,” the “grey power,” and “pensioner’s democracy” in European countries (Goerres, 2010, 207). Although such rationales are very simplified and are based on set of very limited perceptions of representative politics (see Tormey, 2015), there are political actors trying to address older generations as a cohesive one-dimensional voting force, which in effect has also an immense influence on the policy-making process (e.g. parties of the pensioners, in some countries successfully competing almost exclusively on the salient topic of pensions). Such signals from the political process may cause artificial hostilities in the political arena, and more importantly also generally spur on real conflicts in political communities due to issues connected to the declining voice of young people as exerted through democratic participation. That being said, we must not disregard the fact that age segregation of groups inherent to public policy making, as indicated by Larkin and Newman (1997), tends to have damaging long-term effects for the functioning of democracy (e.g. zero-sum game perception of the struggle for resources, intergenerational hostilities, decreasing political deliberation capacity of the political community). Since insufficient resources and fierce competition for them between various social groups put less powerful generations on the losing end, the principle of intergenerational justice and the dialogue between generations promise to affect this distribution of resources and life opportunities in a more balanced way.

Participatory approaches, stemming from the assumption that the public should exercise more direct

influence on the processes of governance than offered by representative democracy, confer to an individual the right to participate in the activities of effective decision-making about the common future through individual or collective action. In order to achieve this, citizens need more direct-participation opportunities, the capacity for societal self-regulation must be improved, and the public administration must be properly educated. As Skocpol (2003) and Hooghe and Stolle (2005) have acknowledged, at least part of the blame should be placed on the political structure and mass membership organizations that stopped investing in mobilization and grassroots activities because of their increasing professionalization; but also due to transformation of the nation state and the role of the state itself (see Tormey, 2015). A substantial push is needed on the side of political structure to bring marginalized young people back into the mainstream political process; however, much political tokenism and paternalism persists in the ways authorities address this issue its clear link to legitimacy of political institutions and office holders. Governmental actions addressing these issues tend to have implementation problems and suffer from shelving projects and proposals due to shrinking budgets and the unnecessary politicization of ideologically diverse political interests or even daily political bickering.

It also seems that a large part of young people’s micropolitical action is outside the mainstream political process (see Marsh et al., 2007) and that the emerging trends of individualized collective action (see Tormey, 2015) and the emergence of the networked citizens (see Xenos et al., 2014) do not go hand in hand with the institutions of representative government and liberal democracy. However, we must still acknowledge the agency issues that contemporary young people exhibit. Regardless of the hostility of the political structure in contemporary representative democracies, there is the need to extend citizenship education beyond school curricula to provide students with practical opportunities to apply citizenship education in their school and community activities. This requires a modified definition of citizenship education, participatory school culture, and teaching methods that would draw upon a range of formal and non-formal approaches that enable young individuals to develop democratic attitudes and values so as to actively participate in society. It also entails the need for the appropriate professional development of civic educators in both formal and non-formal educational environments and a set of various activities that promote civic education, political and digital literacy, and more broadly, democratic political socialization. At the same time we must stress that these

11 Sinn and Uebelmesser (2001) indicate that, taking into account both demography and age-specific voting participation, a welfare reform in Germany could be democratically enforced only until 2016, because at that point the majority of the voting population was still below the indifference age.

sets of mechanisms should by no means be the same for the entire youth demographic, since many who do not participate in politics are not disinterested apathetics who could not care less about the public affairs happening around them. As the empirical evidence demonstrates, they can also be insufficiently informed, disempowered because of the barriers to participation they face, as well as simply be distrustful because the performance and actions of the politi-

cal class does not meet their expectations (see Snell, 2010). Bearing that in mind, only a coherent set of carefully designed measures improving the political structure as well as the agency issues can lead to the meaningful participation of young people in the political process, ensure the more substantive representation of their interest, and consequently reverse the trend of the fading democratic legitimacy of liberal democracies.

IZTIRJENJE MODERNIH DEMOKRACIJ:  
PRIMER ODSOTNOSTI MLADIH SKOZI MEDGENERACIJSKO PRIZMO

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## POVZETEK

*V razvitem svetu starejši navadno veljajo za najhitreje rastočo starostno skupino. Posledice demografskih sprememb hkrati pomenijo tudi pretakanje vse večje numerične moči v politično moč. Ker so tako mladi kot starejši pomembni koristniki ključnih javnih politik, ki se nanašajo na blaginjo (t.j., izobraževalna politika, zdravstvena politika, oskrba), se tekmovanje za omejena sredstva lahko prenese na politično polje in manifestira kot navidezen ali dejanski medgeneracijski konflikt. Namen tega prispevka je pregledati plati, po katerih sodobne predstavniške demokracije trpijo za pomanjkanjem demokratične legitimnosti, predvsem ko gre za vprašanja politične participacije in predstavništva podprezentiranih družbenih skupin, kot je na primer mladina. Prispevek prav tako razpravlja o pristopih, ki omogočajo omenjenim družbenim skupinam, da postanejo polno vključeni v politične procese, še posebej ko gre za institucionalno politiko. Razprava se osredotoča na pristope opolnomočenja posameznikov in preoblikovanja politične strukture, da bi ta omogočala vključujoče procese vladanja in nasploh bolj demokratične politične institucije.*

**Ključne besede:** mladina, politična participacija, politično predstavništvo, medgeneracijski dialog



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## THE RELEVANCE OF EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES FOR CITIZENSHIP: WHY CUTTING BUDGET FOR STUDENT ASSOCIATIONAL ACTIVITY IS A BAD POLICY

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### ABSTRACT

*Universities are tasked with providing rigorous education and training for successful entry into disciplinary and professional fields. Their instrumental roles are situated within broader commitments to political communities through cultural stewardship. As such, the process of socializing students with the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of democratic citizenship is a complementary and acute obligation of institutions of higher education. Student Associations arguably serve as strategic enablers of this key responsibility through their unique identities as laboratories of shared governance. When students participate in co-creating their educational and community experiences, the dividends for learning and development escalate. The deliberative processes and activities of student associations resemble those ideal in the broader civil society and should be supported. We suggest that the respective aspirations and impact of universities and student associations are mutually bound through an experiential curriculum of democratic citizenship. Hence, we propose that it is in universities' interest to provide and protect funding for student associations and their activities.*

**Keywords:** university governance, student participation, student governance, student councils, student associations, civic education, functions of higher education

## L'IMPORTANZA DELLE ATTIVITÀ EXTRACURRICOLARI PER LA CITTADINANZA ATTIVA: PERCHÉ TAGLIARE IL BUDGET PER LE ATTIVITÀ DELLE ASSOCIAZIONI STUDENTESCHE È UNA POLITICA SBAGLIATA

### SINTESI

*Le università hanno il compito di provvedere a una rigorosa istruzione e formazione per consentire un ingresso efficace nel campo disciplinare e professionale. I loro ruoli fondamentali si collocano all'interno di impegni più ampi verso le comunità politiche mediante la gestione culturale. Essendo tali, il processo di avvicinare gli studenti al sapere, alle competenze e ai dispositivi di una cittadinanza democratica è un obbligo integrativo e critico delle istituzioni di istruzione superiore. Le associazioni studentesche possono fungere da abilitatori strategici di questa responsabilità cruciale grazie alla loro identità unica come laboratori di una governance condivisa. Quando gli studenti partecipano alla creazione delle loro esperienze educative e di comunità, i vantaggi per l'apprendimento e sviluppo aumentano. I processi e le attività deliberativi delle associazioni studentesche rassomigliano a quelli ideali nella società civile più ampia e dovrebbero essere sostenuti. Sarebbe vantaggioso se i rispettivi obiettivi e impatti delle università e delle associazioni studentesche fossero armonizzati e correlati attraverso un curriculum esperienziale di cittadinanza democratica. Pertanto, troviamo che sia nell'interesse delle università procurare e difendere i finanziamenti per le associazioni studentesche e le loro attività.*

**Parole chiave:** governance universitaria, partecipazione studentesca, governance studentesca, consigli studenteschi, associazioni studentesche, educazione civica, funzioni dell'istruzione superiore

## INTRODUCTION

Universities play an important role in the 'making' of citizens and there is extensive evidence and normative discussions about the importance of higher education institutions and processes on citizenship. There are various modes by which higher education institutions can influence citizenship, we can distinguish at least two general ways (see Annette and McLaughlin, 2005, 61): (1) education for citizenship – the process of making citizens – which consists of a multitude of possible influences universities may exert on students, and (2) a broad influence on citizenship beyond its specific and intentional social reproduction. Universities therefore contribute in both direct and indirect ways *"to the stock of social, political and cultural ideas and ideals prevalent in a society at any particular time, many of which are not only significant for citizenship but required by it"* (Annette and McLaughlin, 2005, 61).

The role of the university in Slovenian society has been very important and multifaceted throughout its existence. Under the former regime, with the imperative of building a socialist society it faced immense pressure in terms of designated participation in construction of the economic, education and cultural system (Modic, 1969, 8). Hence, the university was systemically integrated into broader planned societal development and its fundamental mission was the production of working and effective graduates and loyal citizens with a duty to contribute to the development of self-management (Jerovšek, 1987, 186). It lacked the necessary autonomy and was subjected to other goals and subsystems, mostly the economy and politics (Jerovšek, 1987, 181). While there were many calls to reform the university, most came from students even in that period. They mainly pursued the agenda of inclusion in terms of influencing organisational governance and made calls for greater university autonomy (Jovanović, 1970). Eventually, the shift towards greater autonomy, and its subsequent public scrutiny, coincided with the process of regime change when it was the student movements that played a pioneering role by launching the idea of a civil society within the new alternative (social) movements that started to be comprehended as civil society (Fink Hafner, 1992). To be precise, students played an important role in the system of organised youth in the former regime and were concentrated around the ideas of the liberalisation of society and reduction of communist party control (Tomc, 1989, 114) and acted within more or less autonomous organisations and were mainstreamed as part of the Union of Socialist Youth of Slovenia following the abolition of the student organisation as an autonomous structure in 1974. Students had a profound effect on the democratisation of society with its interventions and tangible reform propositions (Vurnik, 2003).

In the period after independence an era of realignment of the university in Slovenian society replaced the state's control over the university and the socialist pressures of indoctrination. Debates that had started in the late 1980s and were already being pushed forward by the university itself and some key intellectuals resulted in a normative framework that made universities and other higher education institutions autonomous. Accordingly, the university came to be perceived as an agent in the service of all of society (Zgaga, 1999, 31–32). Nevertheless, its public character and reliance on public funding makes the three biggest universities in the country susceptible to state influence, which also limits their activities through its para-state agencies as was mentioned earlier in this chapter. Nevertheless, one crucial decision seems to have fundamentally redefined the role of the university in contemporary Slovenian society – the Bologna reform. Zgaga (2009) stresses the importance of the Bologna reform in terms of citizenship education since the Bologna model seemingly shapes universities more in line with the requirements of the market economy and less in terms of the personal development and preparation of students for life as active citizens in a democratic society. We can thus say that, by being liberated from the state, especially in terms of totalitarian rule, Slovenian higher education became increasingly dependent on market forces (see, for example, Nadoh Bergoč and Kohont, 2007, 98; Zgaga, 2009, 184) through a political decision induced by globalisation and Europeanisation processes.

The extent to which universities and the higher education sector are positioned toward, against or apart from markets has been unpredictable, and will likely continue to be so. Their organizational peculiarities as so-called, "loosely coupled systems" (Orton and Weick, 1990) afford some level of autonomy – or at least capacity for mitigation – irrespective of the political moment and variations in tightness of state purse strings. Of course, the interplay between states and their universities are also loosely coupled systems in the sense that the pressures and resistances exerted by each can cause inordinately large or small reactions and consequences (Gilmore et al., 1999), making rationality an unsuitable tool for prediction. Universities and general citizenry have this in common, as do universities and their respective students. Accordingly, we will discuss student associations as particularly rich locations of citizenship education, integrating formal and non-formal elements of democratic community building. Our proposition is that the student association is the epicentre of preparation for engaged democratic citizenship after graduation, rendering them – and students' participation in them – «magnified moments» within the Academy, defined as

*episodes of heightened importance, either epiphanies, moments of intense glee or unusual insight, or moments in which things go intensely but meaningfully wrong. In either case, the moment stands out as metaphorically rich [...] [and] unusually elaborate [...] (Hochschild, 1994, 16).*

While university administrators and policymakers may occasionally develop frustrations or resentments in the face of oppositional conduct by student leaders, they are just as likely to enjoy pride and excitement arising from student leaders' ambitious achievements. The state, its universities, and their students also have this in common.

#### EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP AND A GENERAL INFLUENCE OF HE ON CITIZENSHIP

The education for citizenship mode of HE's influence on citizenship generally seeks to promote the link between higher education and citizenship through experiential learning (Annette and McLaughlin, 2005, 63). The key question of this tradition concerns the construction of a curriculum that would enable the civic education of students through forms of active, problem-based and service learning. Integrating classroom instruction with work within the community by sending students out into the community-at-large enables experience to be transposed from service to academic work (Crittenden and Levine, 2013). The main idea is for teachers and students to go out into the community and become acquainted with the conditions there and use this information as a valuable educational resource while providing meaningful service to the community partners and their respective constituents. According to Dewey (1916), there is no better site for political or democratic action than the school itself, the students' own community, thus creating a democratic culture that prepares a person for democratic participation and fosters a democratic environment. In line with this tradition, students are supposed to engage in active inquiry and deliberation in vital community problems since traditional methods of instruction often prevent the active participation of students (Crittenden and Levine, 2013). At the core of such a process of making citizens is an experiential continuum, which also allows for the operations of the school to become a part of the curriculum. Hence, in this tradition students may be given an experience in making decisions that affect their lives in schools, which usually means giving them a voice in the institution's governance, assuring autonomous student-run media and promoting their active engagement and expression (Crittenden and Levine, 2013). Providing conditions for their associational activity also forms part of this approach, which is found to have a positive effect on voting (see Thomas and McFarland, 2010).

In terms of the broader influence of higher education institutions on citizenship, moving beyond the mere 'making' of citizens, we may note several points of influence. One of them is certainly the preservation and development of critical traditions of thought that produce resources for the flourishing and re-conceptualising of the notion of citizenship in any given society (Annette and McLaughlin, 2005, 61). This is consistent with Hill-ygus' (2005) results that directly indicate relevant disciplines, such as political science, political philosophy, sociology etc., as the most beneficial to creating a virtuous citizenry. However, other disciplines also contribute to citizenship as long as they cultivate the tradition of critical enquiry and maintain a forum for exploring unfashionable and unpopular ideas that fail to be labelled as mainstream. In this manner, the Slovenian university environment, primarily through its student associational activity, managed to have an immense influence on the liberalisation of society in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s by providing fertile grounds for critical enquiry through perennial struggles for autonomy (see Jovanović, 1970; Jerovšek 1987, 178). For these reasons and others to be discussed, the life and activities of student associations should be reconceptualised as democratic experimentation and as competitive spaces for ideas to form and eventually become mainstream. Even when there are tensions and combative disputes between student leaders, or between them and the administration or governments, such periods and situations serve the valuable democratic function of clarifying what people ultimately want to become mainstream. In other words, either such experimentation generates social advancements, or it helps people to clarify and achieve consensus about what the collective isn't ready and/or willing to adopt as a normal.

Graham (2002) argues that universities also perform a role of cultural custodian by maintaining and revitalising cultural inheritances that are very significant for every citizenship regime due to its embedment in the cultural models of the political community, giving a society a cultural direction (see Delanty, 2001). In addition, the university is also frequently portrayed as a major contributor to civic virtues in terms of the diffusion of practical wisdom in society as well as an indicator of social justice, which is often related to questions of funding and its relationship with equality of opportunity (see Annette and McLaughlin, 2005, 62). We should not forget the important function of universities in educating and training professionals dealing with topics relevant to citizenship. These primarily include teachers who, albeit to a different degree, play perhaps the most important role in the social reproduction through various forms of citizenship curriculum (see the previous section). Finally, universities should (ideally) also exert an important influence on local communities by introducing and nurturing higher moral and ethical values and standards, be it in terms of their internal functioning or



dealing with the external environment (demographic or natural). When sustainable development practices (social, political, environmental, economic) are achieved at the university, they have a significant influence on local communities and serve as good examples for other citizens and actors (see Gardner, 1996).

At the end of the day, there is a general notion that, irrespective of any direct intervention of higher education in the process of making the citizenry, the university's influence on the general development of students as citizens is undeniable. Along these lines, Annette and McLaughlin (2005, 68) argue that, in terms of the university's formal curriculum, the study of any serious subject may lead to the development of critical understanding and sensibility as criticism will inevitably arise in the context of a general commitment to the pursuit of truth and freedom of enquiry. The literacy of students in a broad sense and the experience of university life as a whole, hold rich implications for citizenship, hence the question arises as to the need for the direct intervention of the university in the process of 'creating' citizens. As Graham (2002) points out, even though universities may not directly engage in this activity, it is not the case that they are not adding to the general enhancement of understanding that is contributing to the education for democratic citizenship in a broader sense. As a result, the process of learning within higher education institutions, without a direct approach to the making of citizens, is known to have positive effects on the exercise and experience of citizenship in terms of tolerance (see Schuller *et al.*, 2008), civic association and participation (Preston, 2004), voting (Hoskins *et al.*, 2008).

However, there is also a widespread belief that solely the broad and indirect involvement of the university in the creation of a virtuous citizenry is not enough. Hence, many argue for a more comprehensive role of the university. Nussbaum (1996) stresses that universities should build on the foundations of the ideal of liberal education and modify this ideal in order for it to cope with contemporary life. She believes universities should engage in a widespread curriculum reform so as to achieve the capacity for a critical examination of oneself and one's tradition, the development of students' capacity to see themselves as cosmopolitan citizens and the development of an ability to put oneself into the shoes of another (critical narrative imagination). According to her, civic education should reflect membership in the community of dialogue and concern that extends to all human beings.

#### CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION, TYPES OF LEARNING AND 'THE' CURRICULUM

##### HE citizenship education

Compared to the curriculums of primary and secondary education, the higher education curriculum

functions within the classifications described above; however, it also has several distinct characteristics. Generally, the higher education curriculum draws content from a vast pool of subject-specific knowledge and is reconstructed in a format that is well established within each individual discipline (Coate, 2009). To be precise, syllabi normally include topics grouped in categories in a chronological or sequential manner.

Each higher education curriculum is a social force in itself and a product of the interplay of academic considerations, internal and external constraints, and power relations. However, despite the undeniable social significance of higher education curriculums, up until recently the process of their construction by academic institutions remained virtually uncontested. Primarily the state refrained itself from imposing the level of control typical of the primary and secondary levels of education, although there is a growing tendency across different systems to reverse that process. Coate (2009, 78) stresses that state control over the higher education curriculum varies according to the level of study. In this view, academic institutions are left with the greatest freedom over the curriculum at the postgraduate and doctoral levels, which is due to several reasons. First, the higher the level of study, the fewer the people who have the capacity to make specialist judgments about the appropriate content and pedagogical approaches. Second, graduate levels are typically determined by the foundations of the discipline, thus leaving less autonomy to individual institutions or curriculum drafters since core knowledge has proven to be very resilient to change within most disciplines. Consequently, the least specialised levels of the curriculum have the most stable content, whereby specialisation within research at higher levels of study allows for greater freedom over curriculum design. With the initiation into the production of academic knowledge through research at the postgraduate and doctoral levels of study, the curriculum becomes the least controlled – usually left to one (supervisor) or a small number of academics – although this is subject to change by various processes (e.g. the Bologna Process; see Coate 2009, 80; Biesta, 2011).

The higher education curriculum has therefore become increasingly influenced by a collage of different actors with diverse interests, thereby signifying an erosion of academic freedom to construct and implement study programmes. Coate (2009) notes the various orientations of these actors; from local, which aim to develop and shape local concerns – identities, structural barriers and opportunities and societal agendas – through to national and supra-/inter-national orientations. National orientations usually entail aspiration related to the nation-state and generally provide links to state- or nation-building processes (e.g. reference to a common cultural heritage, a common history, political narratives etc.). Conversely, national orientations may also provide curriculum restrictions as a consequence of the increasing-

ly prevalent culture of quality. To be precise, the trend of setting up national quality assurance mechanisms and qualification frameworks – functioning as quality assurance, a confidence booster and a source of transparency – has significantly limited higher education institutions' ability to manipulate curriculums at will (see Coate, 2009, 81). However, national quality assurance frameworks can also influence curriculum construction via the function of promoting regional or national roles as was described in the introductory chapter of this volume. In terms of a supra-/inter-national orientation, the Slovenian higher education system, as is the case of tens of other higher education systems across Europe, has experienced the significant influence of a supra-national orientation by virtue of being part of the Bologna Process that has pushed for the increased standardisation of curricula outputs as well as programme comparability. Yet it should also be said that compliance with certain international standards existed before and has only been reinforced by the Bologna Process as a significant number of programmes and institutions from different systems have been inclined to look up to the reputable programmes of distinguished institutions around the world.

### Citizenship curriculum purposes

The character of the curriculum and consequently education processes are therefore critical agents of the development of individuals within society (Ross, 2002, 51). There are two primary groups of distinct views on these processes – reflective and transformative. The former builds on Durkheim's functionalist tradition that considers education the reflection of society, its imitation and reproduction. In essence, it is the way in which society prepares the essential conditions of its existence. The educational function of passing the knowledge and skills acquired on to the next generation ensures stability generated by the continuous self-replication of society. On the other hand, the transformative view of education advocates the developmental role of education and its ability to provide grounds for a person to overcome limitations posed at both the individual and societal level (see Dewey, 1916). This transformative view is presented in the works of authors focusing on educational effects on social mobility and social equality (e.g. Dewey, Rawls), whereby education has the function of liberation from limiting influences of the social group and environment as well as nurturing the will for personal growth. In line with Rawls (1971), education therefore should not only be judged on the grounds of its returns in production and training abilities – in accordance with the economic logic of a positive return on the investment in education – but also in terms of its general (civic, egalitarian) value for the citizen and society in general. In this context, it is vital to stress that a significant part of the academic community shares a negative view that regards education as one of

the core mechanisms for maintaining the existing social structure (see Williams, 1961; Apple, 1990). Their rationale is that, by having control over the formulation and implementation of the curriculum, political and economic structures minimise the possibility of societal and economic change and replicate existing social and economic inequalities (see Ross, 2002, 52).

Ross (2002) discerns three distinct curriculum models which recur in the history of education and are based on their differences regarding their sets of aims, ambitions and pedagogic styles. The first and most dominant one is a content-driven curriculum designed via the construction of formally delimited zones of subjects and disciplines. The content-driven curriculum model builds on the revered academic tradition, adapted to teaching from a pool of factual knowledge and has clearly defined albeit often irrelevant subject boundaries (Ross, 2002, 53). The core idea of this model is that there exists a distinct and hierarchically arranged body of knowledge that needs to be absorbed in order to master a certain subject area. The objectives-driven curriculum differs in terms of its view of schooling since it is conceived in a utilitarian fashion. In line with this view, subjects are designed in order to demonstrate the highest level of utility for society or a certain social group. In essence, this model focuses on setting out specific learning objectives and the consequent construction of curricula rather than focusing on a detailed programme of study. As a result, a curriculum is an arrangement of elements that produce skills judged as necessary, thus adding relevance to the thesis that the individual can be moulded in a predetermined way. The process-driven curriculum, by contrast, focuses on the processes of learning contemporary problems, groups and subjects together and rejects formal teaching methods (Ross, 2002, 55). Hence, this curriculum model concentrates on how one should learn rather than what one should know, thereby making the process of knowledge acquisition more important than the knowledge itself.

It proves to be a real challenge to frame citizenship education within one of the three distinct curriculum models presented above. Further, Ross (2002, 56) argues that it can be framed variously, to meet every one and also all of them at the same time. Different states and educational regimes also offer different rationales for introducing or maintaining various forms of citizenship education: 1) to push for knowledge about and understanding of society and its institutions (a content-driven curriculum); 2) to determine national identity, establish a civic culture and pride, and establish the capacity to act as a good citizen (an objective-driven curriculum); or 3) to instil the ability to reflect societal processes and critically examine them (a process-driven curriculum). Which model best characterises Slovenian higher education shall be examined in the empirical part of this chapter.

### Citizenship curriculum types

In general, when we talk about a curriculum we must bear in mind that a curriculum is essentially:

*the plans made for guiding learning in the schools, usually represented in retrievable documents of several levels of generality, and the actualization of those plans in the classroom, as experienced by the learners and as recorded by an observer; those experiences take place in a learning environment that also influences what is learned* (Glatthorn et al., 2012, 4).

Citizenship education may therefore be understood as an institutionalised form of acquiring political knowledge that takes place within formal educational frameworks such as schools and universities and informal frameworks of various associational activity and the like (Ichilov, 1994). In its specific or diffused form (see Ichilov, 2003), citizenship education encompasses the entire triad of learning experiences – formal, non-formal and informal. Formal learning experiences occur in an organised structured context – formal educational frameworks – that usually leads to some kind of formal certification and is intentional from the learner's perspective (see European Commission 2001). In contrast, despite also being intentional from the learner's point of view, non-formal learning experiences are embedded in activities that contain important learning elements but are not explicitly designed as learning. On the contrary, informal learning experiences are generally incidental, do not lead to certification and are a result of daily life activities. They are not structured through learning objectives, the organisation of time and learning support. Student government associations can arguably be described as hybrid configurations of formal, informal and non-formal education in the sense that they are a formal structural component of the university with many defined roles and activities; and yet also serendipitous, situational and fluid with various short-term personalities and activities. Traditions and current moments coexist in these organizations, and that dynamism resonates with the best of pedagogies.

In curricular terms, Birzea (2000) distinguishes three types of curriculum provisions that correspond to the abovementioned types of learning experiences. The author stresses that curriculum provisions for citizenship learning may take the form of a formal curriculum, a non-formal curriculum or an informal curriculum. Formal curriculum provisions involve separate or specialised courses, integrated programmes (part of a broader course) and cross-curricular themes (citizenship curricular contents woven into all specialised subjects of the formal curriculum). Non-formal curricular provisions are realised through extra-curricular, co-curricular, extra-mural or other out-of-school activities organised by

the educational institution and connected to the formal curriculum. This includes participation in institutional decision-making, outdoor education (visits, excursions, exchanges), team memberships (clubs, associations, interest groups and pressure groups), community involvement (voluntary activities, meetings with elected representatives, awareness-raising campaigns) and practical placements involving work experience. The informal curriculum is, by contrast, carried out through incidental learning. This involves a set of daily, natural and spontaneous situations that occur in school life and are not organised by teachers. It needs to be said that the informal curriculum proved to be equally important as the formal and non-formal ones, although teaching staff usually do not sufficiently take it into account due to the formal curriculum being the criteria for financing and public accountability and formal curriculum-centred teacher training (Birzea, 2000, 45).

### THE STUDENT ASSOCIATION: EPICENTRE AND FINISHING SCHOOL FOR ENGAGED CITIZENSHIP

#### Location matters: The University, social capital, and the future of citizenship

There have been – and continue to be – countless research projects and scholarly publications focused on the respective and intersecting topics of youth work, social trust, citizenship education and democratic participation. All of these are appealing subjects for study and discussion among academics, policy makers and everyday people at the proverbial kitchen tables and cafes. They are also widely understood as essential for achieving instrumental goals for development and sustainability of emerging and long-standing democratic societies. Utterances about them in the public sphere take many forms, often including: romantic writings (essays, poems, songs); hollow platitudes and promises made by politicians, technocrats, and marketeers; abstract theorization by dispassionate academics; and fiery yet vague motivational speeches and demands by self-appointed activists. Occasionally however, the subjects are addressed in the form of thoughtful, inclusive and actionable verbal and written work products that elucidate goals, strategies, benchmarks and assessable outcomes informed by consultative and transparent processes that elicit the trust of whomever is being targeted for support.

The postsecondary (or “tertiary”) educational sector is of primary importance in reproducing and building upon a nation's social capital. While debates may rage regarding what knowledge is worth knowing, and the extent to which market demands hold sway over disciplinary and aesthetic ones, it remains the case that a nation's universities are tasked with producing its stewards. Universities hold a distinct role in civil society through which official curricula and other socialization mechanisms are provided for successive generations of



citizens. They are microcosms of democratic practice in that they are contested spaces simultaneously part of, and apart from their host communities. They are institutional citizens with concomitant civic obligations. As such, they have multiple, complex and interconnected missions and agendas involving political, economic and social interests fuelled by local, regional, national and global demands. These are additional reasons for our arguments about the importance of student associations. Disciplinary knowledge covered in the classrooms is generally stateless, but the places where students will apply it after graduation are local beneficiaries. During their time in university, the student association is thus simultaneously the laboratory of democratic participation and its finishing school. If universities and the Academy more generally is to ensure students complete their studies with the knowledge, skills and dispositions necessary to be effective professionals and productively engaged citizens, the student association is a key partner worthy of support in all forms, including budgetary.

### **The relevance of student associations for citizenship education**

Student Associations are the singular entities within the Academy situated at the nexus between leadership development and shared governance, essential qualities of engaged democratic citizenship. As such, we argue that they are especially potent strategic enablers for generating the knowledge, skills, values and dispositions which will animate their future participation as citizens. This is not to suggest that the theoretical and/or practical elements of the university curricula, pre-university activities, and/or additional areas of extra-curricular participation have no part in such socialization and preparation. Rather, we suggest that Student Associations are uniquely positioned as semi-autonomous “citizenship workspaces” within the bureaucratic educational institution, which is itself concentric to the broader local, regional, national and global civil society.

We further argue that the activities and lived experiences of students within these associations have not been given the attention and recognition they merit. Indeed, it is quite common for university students’ actions and assertions to be dismissed by those outside the Academy with the preface, “when you get out in the real world...” Such reductionist sentiments imply that the student operates in a sanitized, privileged or otherwise disconnected bubble with no significant relationship to the broader society. In other words, there is a colloquial notion that the university milieu is not “real,” and by extension the student association isn’t either. This idea has been repeated countless times with little critique. While at face value it may seem to code for the student being younger than the person saying it, consider that professors of all ages often hear the same criticism of their own activities. As such, rhetorically positioning the Univer-

sity as something other than real is a political manoeuvre more so than a statement of fact. This is relevant here because the lived experiences of student associations are analogous to those of the many other locations – whether official or informal – where graduates will work, live, serve and play over the course of their adult lives, and how they will approach socializing their own prospective children as well. The decision processes for determining what issues to engage, what educational or even social activities to undertake, whether and/or how to participate in an action or conflict, or even what to do about a member’s bad behaviour all serve to cultivate the very ingredients necessary for engaged democratic citizenship. Indeed, the problem of occasionally arrogant and brash student leaders enable one to learn the risks and remedies associated with the risk of autocratic leaders in the broader society. Indeed, the tensions that arise when student leaders and university administrators critique and challenge each other does the same.

### **CASE EXAMPLE: THE BUDGETARY POLITICS OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LJUBLJANA**

#### **The landscape and modes of financing of student organizational and associational activities at the University of Ljubljana**

Students of the University of Ljubljana are one of the most organised and represented students in Europe according to the characteristics of institutional student structures (Cvikl, 2010, 51). There are two dominant pillars of institutional student activities that are of key relevance for citizenship and function as the main forums of non-formal citizenship education – the Student Council of the University of Ljubljana and the Student Organisation of University of Ljubljana with its affiliated and/or supported student organizations.

#### ***The Student Council of the University of Ljubljana***

The Student Council of the University of Ljubljana is the only formal student representative body of the University of Ljubljana and is defined in the Higher Education Act (2017), Statute of the University of Ljubljana (University of Ljubljana, 2017a) and the Rules of procedure of the Student Council of the University of Ljubljana (University of Ljubljana, 2017b). Its basic role is to discuss, formulate and co-decide on all matters relating to the rights and duties of students, candidates for the rector and programs of student extracurricular activities in higher education institutions, in cooperation with academic community in the broader sense (Higher Education Act). Members of the student councils are annually democratically elected legal representatives of views and interests of all students at all levels of the University (university, faculty level). There are 26 faculty student councils and 52 student representatives in the

university student council and student representatives sit in the university's management board, the Senate and senate commissions. The student councils' primary mission is to represent students on all levels of university governance. Student representatives at the faculty level are delegated to the university level and as at the faculty level, they represent students' interests in the Senate and the Senate Commissions. Student also councils discuss and provide student opinion on university or faculties' documents and procedures in all student-related matters. Student councils also draft opinions on candidacies for university and faculty leadership, elect student members of university governance bodies. In addition, student councils also implement different co-curricular programs and projects for students in co-operation with formal and non-formal groups of students.

In the case of the Student Council of the University of Ljubljana, all programs, projects, actions and other activities concerning student councils are financed through two main sources. The first one is an annual student contribution every student pays when enrolling into a programme and the second is the university-level Student Council budget. The central budget derives from the governmental financing of the University of Ljubljana, whereby the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport defines the size of the budget allocated for extra-curricular activities of students. Within this given budget the university's management board, which also includes student representatives, defines total budget for Student Council of the University of Ljubljana. According to the Rules on financial operations of Student Council of the University of Ljubljana (University of Ljubljana, 2008) there are two parts of the total budget. First part is allocated to the faculty-level student councils according to the number of students per faculty, work programme, report for the past period and degree of participation of student representatives at the university level (60 % of total budget). The other part is used by the university student council for its operation and financing of different activities (40 % of total budget) (University of Ljubljana, 2017a; University of Ljubljana, 2017b).

### ***The Student Organization of University of Ljubljana***

The Student Organization of the University of Ljubljana, the second main pillar of institutionalized student activities, is a sui generis organizational form established in 1990, regulated by the Students Association Act (1994) and Student Constitution (2011). The student organization was established during the process of democratization of the Republic of Slovenia. After Slovenia gained its independence from Yugoslavia, the student organization became a legal successor of Association of Socialist Youth of Slovenia, which was an official youth organization of the ruling communist party in Yugoslavia. The newly formed student parliament body passed the Act of Establishment of the Student Organization of the University of Ljubljana on 15<sup>th</sup> of May

1990, while the first Student Constitution, determining the structure and functioning of the organization, was passed on 27<sup>th</sup> of November 1990. On 20<sup>th</sup> of June 1994, the National Parliament of Republic of Slovenia passed the Students Association Act, determining the position, functioning and legal activities of the self-governed student community. The act has not been changed since. The Student constitution has been changed several times since it was first put in motion (Cvikl, 2010).

The student organization is an autonomously and democratically organized community composed of all active students, which represents the rights and interests of the students of the University of Ljubljana. Its main purpose is to care for the quality of study and quality and diversity of student life primarily focusing on educational policy, social and economic welfare of students and international cooperation. It is composed of 30 different faculty-level student organizations, with its 45-member Student Assembly as the highest representative body and elected board, and a director. The board has further powers to appoint managers of various bodies, while the judicial powers are vested in the electoral commission and other supervisory authorities (the Senate, the Tribunal and prosecutors). As such, the student organization is frequently portrayed as political incubator and "a state within a state" since it heavily resembles the organization of the state. The Student Organization is, as in the case of the Student Council, organized at the faculty and university levels. Generally, at faculty level smaller projects, programs and actions are implemented while larger and more complex activities, some of them permanent, are held at the university level (publishing, sports, forums for student welfare, international cooperation etc.) (Cvikl, 2010; Student organization of the University of Ljubljana, 2016).

Student organization of the University of Ljubljana is financed by the Slovenian Student Union, which gets its resources from a unique student work instrument – a concession fee for student work – representing a form of taxation of short-term student participation in the labour market. In essence, this means that the students managed to negotiate with the government to acquire a piece of the pie coming from taxation of student work for the representation of students' interests and extracurricular activities. The allocated share of the entire budget of the Slovenian Student Union to Student organization of the University of Ljubljana is set in the Student Constitution. Taking into account the size of the University of Ljubljana, this amounts to 34 per cent of the overall Slovenian Student Union's budget (Cvikl, 2010; Student Constitution, 2011).

### ***Student Associations***

Less regulated part of the student associational activity present active student associations that operate within a broader frame of (student academic community). They take the form of relevant disciplinary and/or

**Table 1: Annual expenditure of the Student Council of the University of Ljubljana (Source: University of Ljubljana, 2018).**

Year	Student councils at the faculty level	University Student Council	Total
2006	31.505,59	41.528,96	73.034,55
2008	43.634,30	29.089,54	72.723,84
2010	43.634,30	29.089,54	72.723,84
2012	43.634,30	29.089,54	72.723,84
2014	31.367,45	15.000,00	46.367,45
2016	34.125,90	*	34.125,90
2017	18.820,08	12.546,72	31.366,80

\* Consequences of inactivity of the Student Council of the University of Ljubljana in this period.

interest-specific student associations and with its diversification significantly contribute to student organizing. Despite being completely autonomous in terms of their programmes, these organizations predominantly rely on the budget allocated for student organizing. As membership in student associations is not prescribed and rests on the association's policy and motivation of students, the membership numbers span from a few dozen to several hundred students. As some of the established associations are not active, a rough estimate is put forward around one hundred and fifty active student associations (Vinko, 2016). Student associations operating within this university framework are mostly financed through the central student organization's annual open call for financing student associational activities. These associations generate additional income through other minor faculty-level or student body-specific calls as well as occasionally sponsorships and membership fees.

#### **Citizenship implications of the politics of financing student organizations**

*Don't tell me what you value, show me your budget, and I'll tell you what you value*  
(Joe Biden on the Budget as an Expression of Values, 23 July 2007)

As was colourfully indicated by a seasoned statesman, observing the budgetary patterns allows one to see a deeper image of preference, priorities and things that matter to the ones holding the power to decide. The indirect allocation of funds for student organizing may thus be a very indicative measure of relevance and commitment attributed to citizenship from university and state leadership. In addition, the allocation of budget across different dimensions of student organizing and participation in university governance also reveals the less and more needed activities and the preferred vision of student engagement in the eyes of decision-makers.

From a comparative perspective, primarily if we take into account the budget of the Student organization of the University of Ljubljana, the budget of the Student Council of the University of Ljubljana presents a miniscule part of financial resources available for student organizing and associational activities. Putting this aside, the student council's budget reveals substantial changes throughout the years. Koudela (2018), the president of the Student Council of the University of Ljubljana, indicated the main reason for the budget reduction was the global financial crisis and the subsequent austerity measures by the state leadership which cut financing of the public higher education system in Slovenia. This was translated to financial reduction for the Student Council of the University of Ljubljana and in the last few years, students lost excessive amount of resources. Students stress that budgetary negotiations with the university's management board are always narrated by the reduction of the financing of the public higher education system (Koudela, 2018). To support students' perceptions, according to an overview of annual expenditures of university and faculty-level student councils, a rapid decrease is demonstrated after 2008 (see Table 1). This amount has been more than halved in the years following the financial crisis, a pattern that importantly cut public funding of higher education across Europe (Ritzen, 2015, 2).

As mentioned above, the budget for the Student organization of the University of Ljubljana reveals a more complete picture of the support for student associational activity as it is up to hundred times the size of the Student Council's budget (see Table 2). Even a brief scan of the student organization's budget reveals that it was on a substantial rise, peaking at 6,3 million Euros at 2010, and then plummeted for more than a third and stayed at that level ever since. If we take a look at its distribution to different areas/clusters of activities, there are some interesting patterns. While the amount of financial resources for research remained virtually the same, support to international cooperation – activities nurturing



**Table 2: Student organization of the University of Ljubljana: annual expenditure by areas (Source: Student organization of the University of Ljubljana, 2018).**

	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2017
<b>research and education</b>	214.779,20	207.760,45	364.011,40	179.218,87	204.348,16	174.471,50	190.985,53
<b>social and health affairs</b>	425.439,60	564.379,24	750.570,49	590.944,48	1.012.061,22	895.588,13	1.028.473,61
<b>international cooperation</b>	55.572,74	77.176,45	144.102,52	142.466,74	82.369,06	150.181,20	149.742,37
<b>culture</b>	449.829,88	307.363,21	492.549,64	333.511,05	601.428,41	264.045,82	366.575,62
<b>media</b>	174.789,95	287.085,29	639.012,26	355.169,95	280.832,21	236.442,74	250.506,01
<b>student associations</b>	132.362,27	107.379,51	399.741,67	248.870,57	127.571,79	127.409,17	149.499,60
<b>student organisations on faculty level</b>	388.759,73	439.241,83	641.406,12	394.623,18	231.991,70	334.860,44	331.813,59
<b>representatives and student bodies</b>	330.187,37	356.874,20	420.055,33	294.520,19	277.522,81	235.426,23	262.691,25
<b>sport, social events, extracurricular projects</b>	309.200,65	477.916,91	605.076,62	196.121,05	263.729,97	394.433,92	752.992,40
<b>support and operating expenditures</b>	2.004.370,57	2.189.356,62	1.875.966,23	1.424.156,03	923.187,12	847.304,57	840.080,98
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4.485.291,96</b>	<b>5.014.533,71</b>	<b>6.332.492,28</b>	<b>4.159.602,11</b>	<b>4.005.042,45</b>	<b>3.660.163,72</b>	<b>4.323.360,94</b>

mobility and acquisition of intercultural competences – went down to one half of the 2010 budget in the year 2014. Likewise, the resources to support media, i.e. expenditures for operation of student radio station, student TV and student newspaper, decreased by almost two thirds from 2010 to 2014. As student-led media proved to be an important element of various non-formal educational activities, instrument of public agenda-framing beneficial to students and a tool to involve students as individuals and engage them in public affairs (see LSE, 2013), this budget cut may have serious damaging effects on citizenship of students.

A similar situation may be observed for support to student associations that also dropped by almost two thirds from 2010 and amounted only to 127 thousand Euros in 2014. This drop of support effectively meant a decimated budget for the student associations' annual funding call and decrease of continuous support for key activities of student associations. This went hand in hand with a two-third budget cut for student organizations at the faculty level as well as for support to sport, social events and extracurricular projects. Further indication that the key laboratories of citizenship in higher education did not prove important enough for the decision makers to keep them immune from the budget cuts is the allocation of financial resources to support sport, social events and extracurricular projects. This area of activities lost two thirds of resources from 2010 to 2012, although the curve for 2014 has increased to 43 % of the 2010 value.

On the other hand, the budget for social and health affairs did increase during the times of crisis and immediately after it, thus hinting that the welfare of students was prioritized over internationalization, student involvement in university governance and broader citizenship practice at the level of university as well as individual member institutions. At the same time, we have to note that the budget for culture varies severely between periods with increases and decreases of almost 100 % from one period to another. According to a seasoned associate of the Student organization of the University of Ljubljana, there are two main reasons for that; the first is the increased taxation of student work by the state that consequently brought the reduction of student work in the labour market and lower resources for the Slovenian Student Union and its organisational forms, while the second rests in the decisions of student democratic bodies, i.e. student budget is prepared by the elected board and passed by the 45-member Student Assembly that prioritize budgetary areas according to their preferences (Vinko, 2018).

If we look at the faculty level and take an example of the Faculty of Social Sciences we may observe a similar kind of pattern. Despite having one of the most vibrant student communities with a very active Student Council, Student organization and twelve active student associations, mostly organized according to the disciplinary principle. The implementation of projects ranging from publishing activities, sport, tourism, education, international cooperation etc. makes them pivotal for retaining

**Table 3: Student organization of the Faculty of social sciences (FSS); annual expenditure (Source: Student organization of the University of Ljubljana, 2018; University of Ljubljana, 2018).**

	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2017
<b>Student organization of the FSS</b>	20.144,82	19.443,02	16.540,73	15.902,08	12.323,05	8.008,59	11.459,05
<b>Student council of the FSS</b>	2.168,38	6.648,54	6.573,51	7.876,49	8.240,28	1.399,75	3.256,40

lively and critical student community. However, this is not reflected in the resources granted to the student organizations since Student organizations budget, among other things the source to cover annual call for student associations' activities, amounted to mere 12 thousand Euros. As a result, faculty student associations face severe difficulties in acquisition of funding to operate and implement activities and are thus granted annual budgets ranging from 400,00 to 8.000,00 Euros according to our survey questionnaire for student communities and interviews (Marinič et al., 2014).

#### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

We argue for substantial, increasing and sustainable investment in student governance systems and their constituent organizations. As has been discussed herein, student associations and their activities contribute powerfully to the academic mission of the university, especially in terms of experiential education and co-management of the institution. They are part and parcel of best practices in applied citizenship and democratic education within the university, providing key foundational preparation for engaged democratic participation and leadership after finishing their formal studies. This has important implications for the university and students alike, but also for students' future professions, communities, families and nations.

Perhaps technocrats and elected government leaders would be resistant to such a call on the grounds that student organizations are either non-academic or occasionally a disruptive headache through their protests and demands (aren't faculty and administrators also demanding at times?). The keepers of the purse strings might secretly or overtly assume that reducing or withholding funding is prudent in order to prevent students from being too troublesome, or perhaps genuinely see benefit in directing precious resources toward formal curricula. To this we say, be careful what you wish for. If students don't receive both the encouragement and opportunity to develop their agency within the rather benign yet dynamic environment of a university, then how would they possibly develop the knowledge, skills and dispositions necessary for engaged and productive citizenship after graduation? Indeed, people, communities

and nations are messy. This is not a problem to solve; it is a business condition and should be accepted as such.

While there are likely many times when the student association is an enthusiastic and helpful partner to the university and government, the point here is that even when there is conflict between stakeholders, there is value to be found in service to democratic values. Michael Ignatieff, Canada's former Leader of the Official Opposition rightly noted this in a speech at Stanford University in 2010, remarking on the critical role of the Loyal Opposition:

*the opposition performs an adversarial function critical to democracy itself. Governments have no right to question the loyalty of those who oppose them. Adversaries remain citizens of the same state, common subjects of the same sovereign, servants of the same law* (Ibbitson 2012).

In practice, the key is to make certain that people – in this case students and their association – have plenty of preparation, opportunities, material and dispositional support to become usefully messy; for the results of occasional fights to be worth the stress. Student organizations are superb training grounds for this principle. For these reasons, we argue that the activities and programs beyond university classrooms, whether student-run as in the case of Student Associations, or those managed by the university (dormitories, leadership training, student support services, community-service learning pedagogies, internships and co-ops, etc.) all hold massive potential as living laboratories for preparing their members and participants for active and effective democratic citizenship. Whether one is inclined toward critical theoretical frameworks or functionalist ones, we nonetheless benefit from examining how the schools we have can enable the democracies we want. In this sense, there is opportunity to be leveraged for those of any perspective to be found in studying and working with student-run associations and university-run student social and support programs. University leaders and politicians constantly speak about students as future citizens, waxing poetic about democracy and the future. It is always a good time to enact the colloquial expression and put the money where their mouth is.

## POMEN OBŠTUDIJSKIH DEJAVNOSTI ZA DRŽAVLJANSTVO: ZAKAJ JE ZMANJŠEVANJE PRORAČUNA ZA DRUŠTVENE DEJAVNOSTI SLABA POLITIKA

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### POVZETEK

*Poslanstvo univerz je zagotavljanje kakovostnega izobraževanja in usposabljanja za uspešen prehod na profesionalna in disciplinarna polja. Prav tako pa je omenjena, bolj instrumentalna funkcija univerz, vpeta v njihovo širše predajanje političnim skupnostim skozi različne oblike kulturnega skrbništva. Tako process socializacije študentov z znanjem in veščinami kakovostnega demokratičnega državljanstva lahko razumemo kot komplementarno in nujno dolžnost visokošolskih institucij. Študentsko organiziranje služi kot strateški fasilitator omenjene dolžnosti, saj so ravno ta okolja laboratoriji skupnega demokratičnega odločanja. Ko študenti participirajo pri soustvarjanju svojih izobraževalnih in skupnostnih izkušenj, se potencialni učinki na učenje in vsesplošen razvoj skokovito povečajo. Deliberativni procesi in aktivnosti študentskega združevanja hkrati močno spominjajo na procese demokratičnega udejstvovanja v širši družbi ter imajo lahko nanje tudi blagodejen učinek. V prispevku zagovarjamo stališče, da je procese študentskega udejstvovanja vredno zaščititi in podpirati, saj študentsko organiziranje predstavlja pomemben vidik izkustvenega kurikula državljanske vzgoje v visokem šolstvu ter tako pomembno prispeva tudi k izpolnjevanju demokratične funkcije univerze ter njenem doprinosu k izgradnji demokratične politične skupnosti.*

**Ključne besede:** upravljanje universe, participacija študentov, študentska politika, študentski sveti, študentska društva, državljanska vzgoja, visoko šolstvo



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## CREATIVE PRECARIITY: FLEXIBILIZATION OF WORKING CONDITIONS AND GROWTH OF PRECARIOUS CREATIVE EMPLOYMENT IN SLOVENIA AND SOUTH KOREA

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### ABSTRACT

*Along with the growth of creative economies, one can observe the phenomenon of increasing precarious work, which follows young individuals engaged in creative activities. The working process of creative individuals is very flexible in terms of schedules, place of work, and payment. As such, they often do not belong to the traditional (i.e., economically and socially stable) employment setup, which was usually organized around huge firms or institutions in the public sector. Instead, they tend to self-employ and quickly move from project to project, assignment to assignment, and job to job. Although some have described this as a type of desirable ever-changing lifestyle, such a work profile could be also described as precarious self-employment: a condition of existence without predictability or security, affecting material and/or psychological welfare. On the one hand, their work offers freedom, independence, and creative space, but it also has possible side effects manifested in a decrease in social security and an increase in stress due to work overload. Based on employment and wage statistics, this article analyzes fluctuations and changes in the social status of specific groups of creative workers in Slovenia and South Korea. It is assumed that intense employment restructuring points to the growing global trend of precarious working relations in the creative sector.*

**Keywords:** precarization, creative workers, flexible employment, working conditions, Slovenia, South Korea

## PRECARIETÀ CREATIVA: FLESSIBILIZZAZIONE DELLE CONDIZIONI DI LAVORO E CRESCITA DELL'OCCUPAZIONE PRECARIA DEI CREATIVI IN SLOVENIA E COREA DEL SUD

### SINTESI

*Con lo sviluppo delle economie creative si è venuto a verificare il crescente fenomeno del lavoro precario che accompagna giovani impegnati in attività creative. L'attività lavorativa dei professionisti creativi è molto flessibile in termini di orari, luogo di lavoro e pagamento. Di conseguenza, i giovani professionisti spesso non rientrano nel quadro occupazionale tradizionale (ossia, economicamente e socialmente stabile) che soleva essere organizzato attorno a grandi imprese o istituzioni del settore pubblico. Invece, la tendenza è all'auto-impiego e passaggio rapido da un progetto all'altro, da un incarico all'altro, da un lavoro all'altro. Nonostante alcuni lo descrivano come uno stile di vita allettante e in continuo cambiamento, tale profilo lavorativo potrebbe essere definito anche come lavoro autonomo precario: una condizione di sussistenza imprevedibile o insicura che influisce sul benessere materiale e/o psicologico. Pur se da un lato tale lavoro offre libertà, indipendenza e spazio creativo, è ricollegabile anche a possibili effetti collaterali che si manifestano in una diminuita sicurezza sociale e in un aumento dello stress dovuto al sovraccarico di lavoro. Basandosi sulle statistiche sull'occupazione e quelle salariali, l'articolo analizza le fluttuazioni e i cambiamenti della condizione sociale di gruppi specifici di professionisti creativi in Slovenia e Corea del Sud. Si parte dal presupposto che la profonda ristrutturazione dell'occupazione sia sintomatica di una crescente tendenza globale ai rapporti di lavoro precari nel settore creativo.*

**Parole chiave:** precarizzazione, professionisti creativi, flessibilità lavorativa, condizioni di lavoro, Slovenia, Corea del Sud



## INTRODUCTION

The shift from Fordism to post-Fordism has changed the face of precarity. After the industrial revolution, precarity was mainly associated with the labor force on the social periphery, which had less access to education and to economic and cultural resources. Due to these circumstances, such labor groups were forced to engage in manual, physically demanding, and low-paid work. Fordism was characterized not only by precarious working relations, but also by a more-or-less distinctive employment and wage hierarchy. Stable mass production and standardization of the production process allowed Fordism to form sharp hierarchies between workers with various educational and working skills. The post-Fordist period, starting in the late 1970s and represented by a flexible mode of production in which capital is circulating and searching for the best conditions to maximize profits, changed these relatively stable production circumstances (see Harvey, 1989; Amin, 1994; Scott, 1997). Today's increasing demands for a flexible labor force led to a rebalancing of working groups at the opposite ends of labor market segmentation. Talented creative workers engaged in prevalently non-material, mentally demanding, and complex activities with erratic and individualistic working schedules, became in terms of "flexploitation" (Gray, 2004, 3); that is, low pay, high blackmailability, and intermittent income, gradually equalized with groups of pink-collar workers in prevalently manual, low-end services, working under formalized monotone schedules and employment norms.

Creative work may indeed offer independents or freelancers the advantage of flexibility and adaptability, building professional portfolios that can be transferable to different business networks and different clients. However, creative work often makes for "bulimic careers" (Pratt, 2002), in which there is a boom and bust pattern with people working long days and nights when a project is underway, and then breaking until the next project (Kong, 2011). The precarity pole thus de facto extended from "peripheral," educationally non-demanding jobs to the formerly stable "core" jobs of knowledge professionals (Hardt and Negri, 2004; Virno, 2004).

The increasing precarization of formerly privileged creative workers raises numerous issues about social and economic inequalities. Although the creative industries, often referred to as the creative economies, are becoming an increasingly important segment of urban economies, employing increasingly more people (Landry and Bianchini, 1995; Bairoch, 1998; Scott, 2000), the inequalities remain an insufficiently analyzed element of the production process. The advocates of transition to a knowledge society strongly and occasionally without reflection promoted the increasing share of employees in creative industries. According to the United

Nations (2010), creative economies in Europe are growing 12% faster than other sectors of the economy, and they currently provide around five million jobs in the European Union. In South Korea, the "value-added inducement index" and "employment inducement index" in the input-output table of the social account in sectors of the creative economies are 43.6% and 12.1 persons, respectively, compared to 26.9% and 10.1 persons for other sectors of the South Korean economy (Lee, 2011). This means that the sector of creative economies is very active and growing quickly. With the number of creative workers increasing, the creative industries are promoted as a valuable tool for diversifying the local economic base and replacing jobs lost in traditional industrial and service sectors (Howkins, 2001; Florida, 2002; Hesmondhalgh, 2002). However, the consequences and influences of this sectoral shift on working conditions are not well analyzed. From this perspective, according to various authors, discourse promoting creativity and entrepreneurship as the "new economic savior" has gained the characteristics of a "myth" (von Osten, 2007; Raunig *et al.*, 2011; Minichbauer, 2011; Kuster and Tsianos, 2011), which mystifies the pleasant sides of flexibilization, but on the other hand neglects or ignores the collateral damage found in precarization of working conditions.

The flexibilization of the workforce in creative industries may indeed mean optimization of production costs in economic terms, but may also exacerbate social inequalities. Unequal access of various creative groups to resources gives rise to new forms of previously unimagined divisions (Gill and Pratt, 2008). The new lines of labor division are now formed on the basis of categories such as age, ownership, and payment. The division between younger, precarious, non-owning outsiders and insiders – who belong to older generations, have a stable job, long-term contracts, and accumulated resources, and perhaps own a company and still enjoy relatively high benefits from public social services – are giving rise to new conflicting social, cultural, and generational tensions based on the distribution of resources. This article takes a detailed look at the current socioeconomic status of specific groups of creative workers in Slovenia and South Korea. The intention of the article is to compare changes in the socioeconomic status of creative workers in selected societies and discuss what the consequences of labor flexibilization may be. It is hypothesized that the comparison of employment and wage statistics in Slovenia and South Korea may show that similar precarization patterns are present in culturally, socially, and economically different environments. Based on the accumulated data, further analysis is performed to determine whether the flexibilization of working conditions in selected countries really offers greater working autonomy to creative workers engaged in cultural activity and offers them a more independent lifestyle.

## PRECARIY WITH STYLE: SELF-PRECARIZATION AS PART OF THE PRODUCTION PROCESS

The identification of creative economy as the new development paradigm by many national governments and global bodies (e.g., DCMS, 2001; UCLG, 2008; EU, 2010) led to the formation of similar creative-industry policies that try to popularize employment in creative economies as a path to self-development (Ross, 2009). A number of creative job institutions, career centers, online platforms, and official publications advise young graduates to *“take personal risks such as applying for voluntary positions and unpaid internships in order to gain much sought-after work experience”* (Ferreri and Graziano, 2014, 3). This popular discourse suggests that employees need *“to be creative, whatever the job”* (von Osten, 2007, 52) because only proactive engagement will allow individuals to improve their work skills to compete on the labor market. Furthermore, freelancing, combining short-term contracts, temporary work, part-time jobs, self-employment, and other varieties of flexible work are often presented as a form of increased working autonomy, where instead of working for somebody else you become your own boss by *“making”* rather than *“taking”* a job (Gunnell and Bright, 2011, 1).

It is a short path from the image of self-development to self-precarization if access to resources, information, and stable working conditions are not met over a period of time. From this perspective, precarization of creative workers is often realized through self-precarization, where better pay, social stability, and adequate working conditions are transposed into an indefinite future. Whereas the standard understanding of precarization ascribed the *“responsibility”* for the lack of predictability and instability in terms of job security and material or psychological welfare to the employer (i.e., the owner or manager of a company), self-precarization goes a step further. In the case of self-precarization, *“personal responsibility”* on the part of the employee is emphasized much more, and the employer expects the employee to *“self-regulate”* and practice *“sovereignty at the subject level”* (Lorey, 2011, 85). Self-precarization is based on strong motivational factors that gently force creative workers into a non-optimal working relation. They include:

1. The factor of working autonomy: achieving working autonomy is usually a long-term process that involves a lengthy accumulation of experiences, resources, and social networks that allow stable working operation. In the context of flexibilization of the labor market, in which companies easily access the labor force and reduce indirect labor costs, this process of long-term working preparation and learning is no longer in place.

The market risks are directly transferred to workers, which is why some creative workers prefer to gamble with self-employment in order to potentially *“produce better ways of life than waged labor”* (Bologna, 2007, 1). For a large share of creative workers, the idea of the *“autonomous worker”* (Lazzarato, 1996, 140) is based on the expanding capabilities of new technologies and digital networks that allow very flexible organization of creative work but at the same time also increase the *“supply”* of creative workers on the market.<sup>1</sup>

2. The factor of informality, or *“coolness”* in working and living relations: working autonomy is strongly connected to the desire for greater control over one's time and freedom in working and living relations. Conscious rejection of the standard work routine reinforces the image of working autonomy and allows the formation of new eclectic lifestyles and work schedules. The rejection of standard work routines also includes a presupposed change in the level of formality in relations at work (Kuster and Tsianos, 2011). Flexibilization of work did indeed increase the level of informality at the workplace (i.e., at home or within multi-functional, shared working spaces, geek houses, and other spaces that allow social networking between creative groups). The informal mode of communication between creative workers at the workplace offers the image of equalization and dissolution of rigid hierarchies that existed in Fordism, although the working hierarchy between employers (i.e., owners) and employees remained the same. Even more, the payer of the creative workforce retains the right to dictate the level of communication that the employees voluntarily subordinate themselves to if they want the job (Lorey, 2011).
3. The factor of fear: flexibilization of work created new opportunities to combine working and living conditions not deprived of fear. The new paradigm of productivity may include informality, but it also puts creative workers in extreme indeterminacy, which produces a moment of fear that forces creative workers to work even harder. Due to the *“external relationship to the institution: the demands on the skills and abilities of the subjects are immediate and equal,”* which results in *“an increase in productivity and the activation of the abilities employed”* (Kuster and Tsianos, 2011, 93). The fear introduced through flexibilization of work is immediately translated (i.e., *“recoded as pleasure”*) through the filter of working and living autonomy, which in turn provides temporary

<sup>1</sup> This is especially evident in the case of IT workers or the so-called *“cybertariat”* (Huws, 2003, 24–42) that forms on digital platforms, which are used for high-tech outsourcing, distributing *“bite-sized jobs to web workers for micropayments”* and where *“social rights are differentially assigned according to location in the high-tech occupational hierarchy”* (de Peuter, 2011, 419).

satisfaction to the creative worker. In a society in which all workers are poorly paid, *“the ‘precog’ is a pragmatic adjustment to flexploitation”* (de Peuter, 2011, 421). Defined as a nonstandard cognitive worker with a prestigious occupation but laboring under standard precarious conditions, the precog camouflages the fear though *“imitation of power, which in turn, behind the patina of its arrogance, conceals the anguish of a rabbit caught in a trap”* (De Carolis, 1996, 42).

All three motivational factors that softly push creative workers into self-precarization are interrelated and cannot be separated from each other. The factor of working autonomy includes (or may be connected to) informality, a specific lifestyle, or a fear of doing worse and losing flexibility in the organization of living and working conditions. In other words, the individual is embedded in a specific context of “structural constraint” (Giddens, 1984, 173–177). Structural constraint is a situation in which an individual is in a position to choose between different options but, due to certain personal and societal motives (i.e., motivational factors), immediately narrows the choice. The individual acts within an environment that offers him different options to satisfy certain needs, but he always decides to choose the option that he thinks will bring him the most benefit according to the context. The individual does not calculate its benefit on a strictly rational basis, but formulates it according to an internal perception of “costs and benefits” (i.e., it depends on one’s personality). The mechanism of self-censorship that leads to the phenomenon of self-precarization is thus a complex product of wider social processes, personal choice, and other specific contextual circumstances that the creative worker is embedded in. Due to these factors, self-precarization is much more difficult to analyze in comparison to standard precarization, in which the relationships between the employer and employees are sharper, more distinguishable, and thus easier to define.

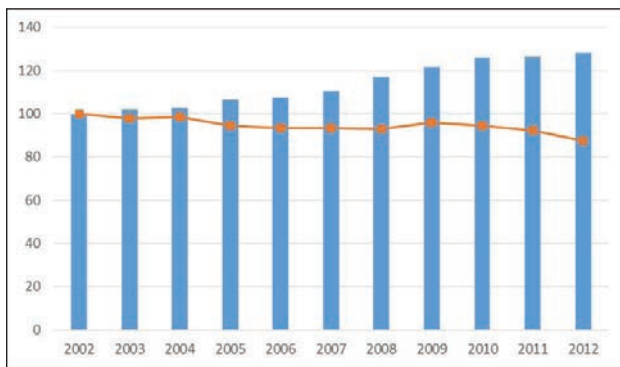
The possible combinations of self-precarization in creative activities in both countries are numerous and in many cases hidden by other factors or camouflaged by the same practitioners, who do not want to expose or change their existing lifestyle. As such, the intention of this article is not to discuss all aspects of self-precarization, but to explore specific layers of self-precarization in order to show that various forms of creative precarity are part of a larger global trend that can be found in various parts of the world.

In the context of Slovenia, all three self-precarization factors play an important role inside the creative sphere, with each factor being more emphasized in a specific category of creative workers. The influence of a specific factor depends on various variables such as age, education, economic status, social capital, and other factors. From this perspective, an older experienced journalist that is forced to work as a freelancer due to the low avail-

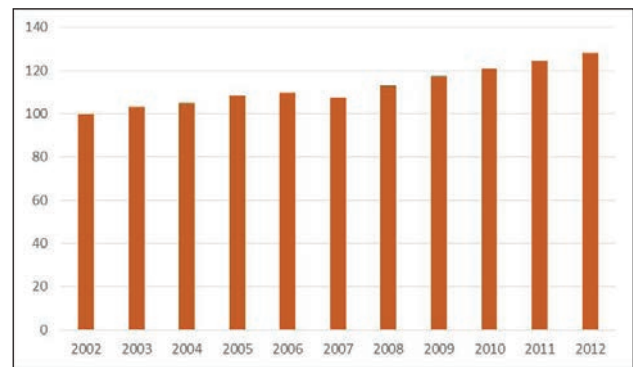
ability of stable jobs cannot be identified by the same self-precarity motives as a young, just-out-of-college architect, who may want to have more working and living flexibility. Similar phenomena can be detected in South Korea. Since the late 1990s, the central government has implemented various policies that try to include highly differentiated age and occupational groups in order to meet the demand for a more skilled workforce in the creative industries. Simultaneously, less emphasis was placed on preventing the side effects of these processes, which can be recognized in self-precarization tendencies of the creative workforce. Despite the apparent splendidity of creative sector-related jobs, there are many problems, such as vulnerable working conditions, a low income level, limited chances of career development, and instabilities of jobs because of the high mobility of jobs, inconsistent career trajectories, short-term employment contracts, and multiple jobs (Whang et al., 2006; Choi, 2008).

Although the physical, cultural, historical, and institutional settings in the countries compared are not the same, similar structural changes were implemented during the last two decades, which makes them comparable on specific dimensions. The cross-cultural comparison of transnational precarization and local responses to it in selected countries demands a research approach that is not linked to precise standardization and direct comparisons of results from different case studies, but is instead a comparison of the structural relationships between various forms of inequality regarding working conditions. From this perspective, we are not interested in a direct comparison between the two countries, but a comparison of similarities, differences, and changes in the structural position of creative workers and the self-employed in relation to previous periods. In short, of interest is whether restructurings brought by post-Fordism and flexibilization of working relations similarly influenced the structural position of creative workers in both countries. In the last three decades, both countries experienced a turbulent transition period in which they promoted a neoliberal policy in order to boost economic growth and urban development. Although they used different intensities to spark their economic restructuring, to a certain extent both countries neglected the social consequences of rapid economic change. For example, health, income, jobs and earnings, social connections, subjective wellbeing, and work and life balance in South Korea are visibly below the OECD average (OECD, 2011; 2013; 2014). Regardless of less sharp income inequalities, low poverty indicators, and higher unemployment rates in comparison to Korea (OECD, 2011), after quick transition and short period of economic growth Slovenia experienced a similar disintegration of social support networks as Korea. From this perspective, both countries can be placed in a comparative structural position with regard to work changes and the precarization process.





**Graph 1:** Number of employees (blue columns) and average monthly pay (orange line) in cultural production by year (calculated on the basis of 2002 = 100).



**Graph 2:** Number of self-employed in cultural production by year (calculated on the basis of 2002 = 100).

#### ANALYZING PRECARIZATION OF CREATIVE WORKERS IN SLOVENIA AND SOUTH KOREA

Analyzing creative precarization is difficult not only due to hidden aspects and motives that force creative workers into self-precarization, but also due to the complex definition of creative activities themselves. Standard definitions of creativity are linked to creative industries,<sup>2</sup> which are tightly connected to creative occupations, and not to activities, which may largely expand the group of creative workers. According to some authors (Cunningham and Higgs, 2009; Cunningham, 2013; Hearn, 2014), creative workers are found across all working sectors and not only in creative industries. The problem of current methodologies that try to study creative economies is the difficult gathering of data connected to creative workers embedded in workplaces beyond the core creative industries. Such workers may work in retail,<sup>3</sup> manufacturing, health, banking, or mining, and they may be deeply engaged in creative activities but not included in the statistics as part of the core creative industry. Moreover, the majority of analyses also do not follow the “narrative” or “knowledge flows” (Isaac, 2008); that is, how people with specific educations change between different occupations over a period of time.

The argument that follows from the difficulties in defining creative workers makes the field of creative precarity even more difficult to analyze. If creative workers are found across a variety of economic sectors, their precarity levels may differ according to the context. Due to difficulties in acquiring data and defining the extent of creative work, this article focuses only on one segment of creative workers. More specifically, it pays special attention to precarization among workers in various types

of cultural activities that are part of the core specialties in creative occupations. The analysis includes data for core specialists in cultural production occupations (e.g. film, television, radio, the performing arts, music, publishing, animation, and the visual arts) and creative service occupations (e.g. the arts, sports, and leisure services).

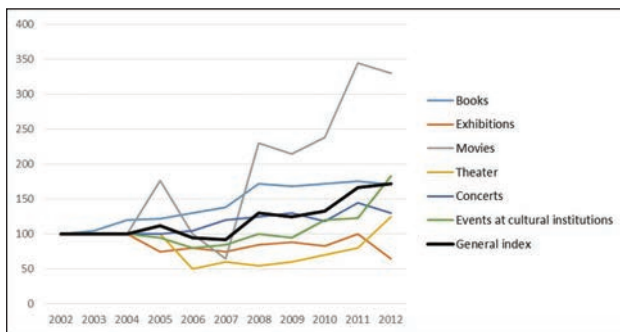
#### Precarization of creative workers in Slovenia

The analysis for Slovenian workers in cultural production was prepared on the basis of data acquired from the Slovenian Ministry of Culture (2015a, 2015b) and the Association of Arts and Culture NGOs and Freelancers, or Asociacija (2014). Their data were calculated both on the basis of SURS (the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia) and AJPES (the Agency of the Republic of Slovenia for Public Legal Records and Related Services), whose data are classified according to the statistical classification of economic activities (SKD, or Standard Classification of Activities in the Republic of Slovenia), which is in line with the Standard Classification of Economic Activities in the European Community (NACE Rev. 2). Although the definition of cultural production based on the standard classification of activities is not perfect due to the fluidity problems in creative activities already explained, it still offers sufficiently accurate general insight into the basic status and trends of creative workers in Slovenia.

The data, which include a comparison between the number of workers in cultural production (publishing, music, performing arts, television, video and radio, and events at cultural institutions) and their average monthly pay by year, show a surprising trend of increasing disparities between the two indicators (Graph 1).

<sup>2</sup> The industry segments that are generally agreed to define the creative industries are architecture; design and the visual arts; music and the performing arts; film, radio, and television; writing and publishing; advertising and marketing; and software and digital content (see DCMS, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> For example, retailers in fashion may need special creative skills in order to sell any product or offer services for which style, experience, branding, or cultural expression is a component of the job.

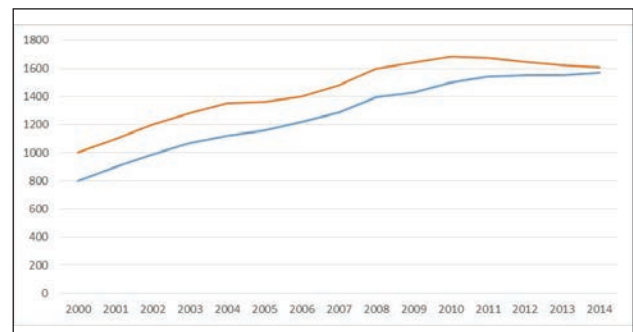


**Graph 3:** Various types (books, films, theatre, concerts, exhibitions, events) of cultural production by year (calculated on the basis of 2002 = 100).

The total number of creative workers in cultural production increased from 2002 to 2012, which is relatively surprising due to the reduced public funds for cultural activities and the crisis in the cultural products market that decreased consumption of cultural products (Asociacija, 2014, 25–27). Furthermore, the high intensity of public media reports using negative connotations to describe the effects of the economic crisis on work in the cultural sector are believed to influence further employment in cultural production. As the number of cultural production workers increased, their average monthly pay simultaneously decreased. The trend of disparity is evident because the monthly pay gradually fell over the ten-year period. The disparity points to the elements of precarity in working relations because the number of employees increases regardless of the deterioration of their economic resources and presumably living conditions. The elements of precarity in cultural production are even more evident when the data on monthly wages are combined with other data, such as the index of self-employment (Graph 2).

The data show a trend of a gradual rise of self-employment in cultural production, which can be explained by a shortage of jobs in other areas. Less offer of jobs in other areas increases the instability of workers in culture, which is already marked by a decrease in private funds and great dependence on project work, short-term contracts, and other temporary engagements. The instabilities in the cultural sector force the growing number of workers engaged in culture into strong competition for the remaining funds. The result of this competition is the growing output of cultural production in the final period (see the general index in Graph 3).

The combination of data that include information regarding the number of employees, self-employed, monthly pay, and output represent the context of precarization in cultural production in Slovenia. The data show that, alongside the growing number of (self)employed, their economic resources decreased regardless of the greater productive output. High competitiveness in culture and the decrease in public and private (market) funds for cultural production force workers to ‘work more for less’,



**Graph 4:** Comparison of average gross monthly pay in cultural activities (orange line) and all other activities (blue line) in Slovenia by year (in euros).

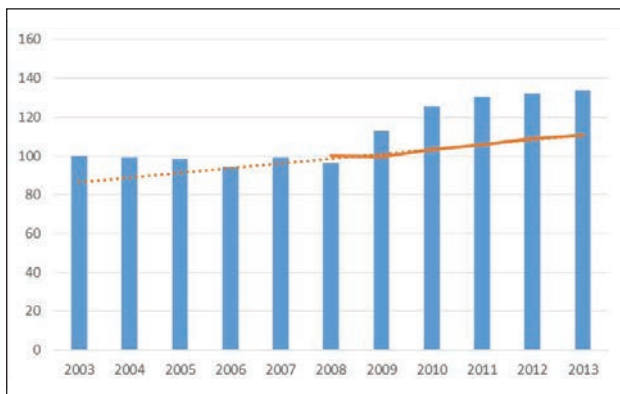
which can be described as a prototype of creative precarization. Similar elements of creative precarization can also be observed in other fields of creative production besides cultural production; such occupations also include ‘creative service occupations’ such as advertising, marketing, architecture, software design, digital content, and other services (Graph 4).

Graph 4 presents the narrowing gap between knowledge workers (i.e., creative workers) and employees in other sectors in Slovenia. The narrowing of the gap in average monthly pay between the two categories of workers points to the shift in the precarity pole, which is moving from “peripheral” educationally non-demanding jobs to the formerly privileged jobs of knowledge professionals (Hardt and Negri, 2004; Virno, 2004). “FI-exploitation” (Gray, 2004) affected the socio-economic status of creative workers, which is especially evident from the decrease in monthly pay, which fell from 123% (in 2000) to approximately 105% (in 2014) in relation to monthly pay in other economic sectors (Ministry of Culture, 2015b, 32).

#### Precarization of creative workers in South Korea

For the analysis of Korean creative workers in cultural production, data were obtained from the Korea Statistical Office on-line data system (KOSIS, 2015) and Content Industry Statistics for various years published by Ministry of Culture, Sport, and Tourism. The definition of creative jobs in South Korea and their concomitant Korean Standard Industrial Classification (KSIC) is slightly different from the Slovenian case and offers general insight into the current status and employment trends of creative workers in South Korea.

The data show the comparison between the number of workers in cultural production (publishing, comics, music, movies, animation (i.e., character), arts, sports, and leisure services) and their average monthly payment by year. Similar to the Slovenian case, the results show a surprising trend of widening disparities between the two variables (Graph 5).

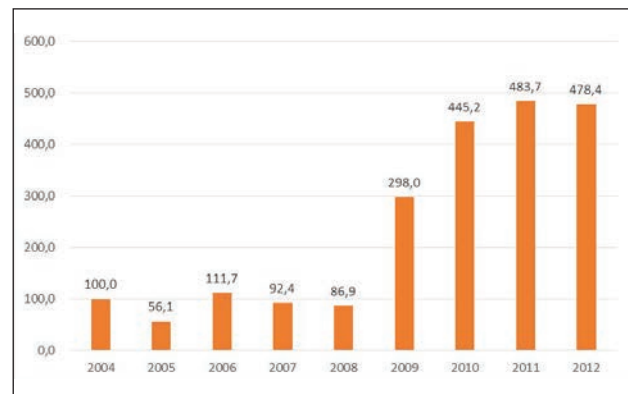


**Graph 5: Number of employees (blue columns) and average monthly pay (orange line) in cultural production in South Korea (calculated on the basis of 2003 = 100 for employment and 2008 = 100 for monthly pay).**

As shown in Graph 5, the total number of people employed in cultural production increased by 33% between 2003 and 2013. One reason for the sharp increase is the government's policy to use cultural industries as a generator for rapid economic development of Korea. The Korean government, in which close coordination of economic development is extensively regulated and controlled, tried to promote cultural industries as an engine of growth. This decision was based on the fact that cultural industries have more of an economic spillover effect than manufacturing or other service industries, they are easier to use to formulate initiatives for industrial growth, and within each region cultural assets can be identified and used as good sources for industries (Kim, 2011). As the number of cultural production workers increases, their monthly pay in cultural sectors gradually rises. However, the growth rate of monthly payment in the cultural sectors is still increasing more slowly than in other sectors of the economy in South Korea (Lee, 2011).

The creative sector in South Korea is in general composed of very diverse characteristics of service industries that contain varied and heterogeneous subsectors, characterized by high mobility in employment patterns, seasonal variations, apprenticeships combined with low starting pay, and freelance jobs. These features of precarity in cultural production are even more evident when the data on salaries are combined with other data such as the index of self-employment (Graph 6).

The number of self-employed in cultural production dramatically increased from 2004 to 2012, especially from 2009 onward. The group of self-employed in the cultural industries in 2012 is almost five times that of the group from 2004. The year 2009 shows a dramatic increase of more than 300% in relation to the previous year. In 2007 and 2008, the Lehman Brothers-driven global financial shock hit the Korean economy, which resulted in a sharp decrease in employment in almost all sectors of the economy. Since 2009, the Korean government has



**Graph 6: Number of self-employed in cultural production in South Korea (calculated on the basis of 2004 = 100).**

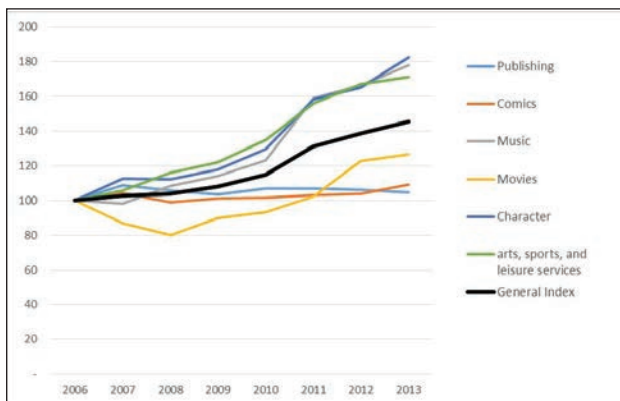
tried to boost the economy by utilizing two major policies related to promoting cultural industries and encouraging job creation in cultural industry sectors motivated by the rising Korean Wave (*Hallyu*) in East Asia (Sung, 2015). Another policy to promote startups and support self-employed cultural industry sectors might gradually contribute to the rapid increase in the number of the self-employed in cultural production (Kang, 2012).

These abrupt ups and downs in the number of the self-employed in cultural production vividly reflect the instability of workers in culture and strong competition for freelance jobs and new projects. These features of precarity in cultural employment can be further explained by a comparison of data from various subsectors in cultural production.

Graph 7 shows changes in cultural production from 2006 to 2013. Generally speaking, all sectors in cultural production increased from 2006 to 2013. Especially the publishing industry shows an intense increase in production in comparison to other cultural industries. The growth of cultural production usually depends on the flexible production of creative (i.e., unique), personal, idea-centered, and lifestyle-bound products, their long-tail distribution, and the rise of consumption driven by symbolic and social motivations (Hartley, 2005). Even though it seems that there has been a quantitative expansion of the cultural industries based on higher valorization of culture and more intensive connections (i.e., active embracing of digital technologies and culture), the data also show that along with the growing number of self-employed their job security decreased and seasonal variations and instabilities increased in parallel with the increase in cultural production.

Combining the data shown in Graphs 7 and 8, it is possible to see that those working in cultural industries received higher pay than workers in other industries. Even though there is no distinctive trend found in the gap of monthly pay between workers in cultural industries and other industries, the differences between the two



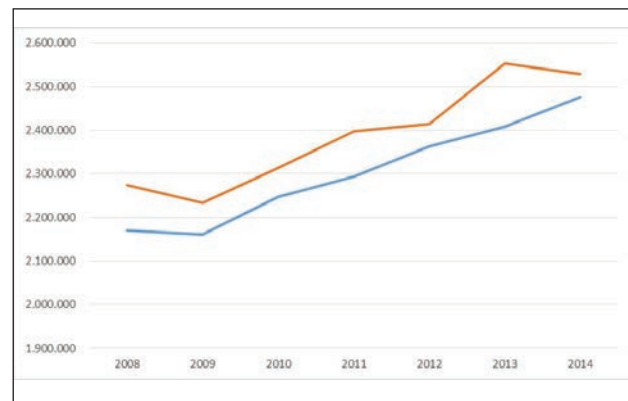


**Graph 7: Various types of cultural production by year (calculated on the basis of 2006 = 100).**

groups are decreasing. This assumption is based on intense fluctuations of the average monthly pay in cultural activities in South Korea, which indicate that the cultural sector is highly volatile and places employees in unstable and thus precarious positions. Workers engaged in cultural activities suffer from unclear career paths and need to constantly acquire new skills to market themselves. Other forms of precarious characteristics also include irregular payments, a lack of health insurance (which is usually provided by employers for regular staff), and a lack of intermediary institutions that set rules, define roles for employment, or act as mediators in times of conflicts.

#### DISCUSSION: A COMPARISON OF PRECARIZATION OF CREATIVE WORKERS IN SLOVENIA AND SOUTH KOREA

A comparison of data from Slovenia and South Korea shows an interesting picture of different employment statuses in the creative sectors. Although the data analyzed are not completely comparable due to the different structure of cultural production statistics,<sup>4</sup> the data still show the general trends in cultural production for both countries with sufficient accuracy. In comparison to Slovenian ones, South Korean cultural production workers not only earned more but their monthly payment also slightly increased in the period analyzed: 2003 to 2013. The increase in monthly pay in the Korean case points to the fact that the work performed by cultural production workers is highly respected in the sociocultural and business environment of Northeast Asian countries. At the same time, the data, similar to the Slovenian case, show that employees' cultural production increased in the period



**Graph 8: Comparison of average monthly pay in cultural activities (orange line) and all other activities (blue line) in South Korea (in Korean won).**

analyzed. Being paid according to the quantity, quality, and complexity of the task performed is thus still a non-negotiable standard in economically highly developed Northeast Asian countries such as South Korea and Japan. Such differences point to deep historical, cultural, and institutional differences between the countries analyzed. Regardless of these socioeconomic differences, various elements of creative precarization that are the consequence of the larger (i.e., global) trend of flexibilization of working conditions can still be found in both countries.

Flexibilization of the workforce on the global scale may eventually lead to very similar consequences in terms of undesired social, economic, and political changes. For example, in comparison to Slovenia, the number of self-employed in cultural production in South Korea rose sharply. In the case of Korea, this is even more remarkable because the total share of the self-employed in the Korean economy has been slowly declining in the last decade (World Bank, 2016) in comparison to the Slovenian case, where it has been slowly rising.<sup>5</sup> The break is especially evident between 2008 and 2009, which may be explained by the intense wave of the economic crisis that hit Korea in that period. An intense break may have radically shifted the perception of the employment status of cultural production workers (Kang, 2012). Although monthly pay for cultural production workers is still a non-negotiable standard in Korean society, this may not be true any longer for long-term contracts, which ensured stability and wellbeing for employees. The flexibilization of the production process in the creative sector is rapidly introducing a new standard based on short-term contracts and periodic employ-

<sup>4</sup> In the case of South Korea, specific segments of cultural production have a different role in comparison to the Slovenia. For example, comic books or animation (i.e., character) are presented in this regard as special segments of South Korean cultural production, which in the case of Slovenia included the segments of movies and books.

<sup>5</sup> For example, the share of the self-employed in Korea in 2013 was 27.4%, whereas in Slovenia it was 16.9% (World Bank, 2016).

ment according to companies' needs<sup>6</sup> (Minns, 2012). Although they are still being paid proportionally to the work performed, only rare young newcomers in cultural production may expect the formerly usual and expected long-term contacts. In a very competitive economic environment combined with harsh competition on the labor market, permanent employment contracts once represented a form of social buffer, which is now slowly disintegrating. This introduces the same types of instabilities and pressures on the creative workforce in both Slovenia and South Korea, and highlights the increasing precarization of working conditions.

Similar instabilities can also be detected in the comparison of monthly pay between workers in cultural activities and other economic activities. In comparison to the Slovenian case, the Korean case does not show a consistent trend of narrowing the gap between the two categories, but instabilities can be still detected. In the Korean case, the gaps between the categories tend to narrow in times of various crises and then return to the original shape when the economic climate improves. This variability stresses the importance of keeping different types of jobs rewarded accordingly, but also points to the increasing adaptation of employers to market changes. In this case, market instability increases payment flexibility, which is accordingly translated in narrowing of the gap between the two categories during various crises.

#### CONCLUSIONS: CREATIVE PRECARIZATION AND DETERIORATION OF RELATIVE WORKING AUTONOMY

The analysis of employment and wage statistics from Slovenia and South Korea revealed various fluctuations and changes in the social and employment status of specific groups of creative workers. Despite the sociocultural differences between both countries, similar trends and effects that stem from flexibilization of working conditions have been noticed. The similarities point to the growing global trend of precarious working relations in the creative sectors. Although presented on a different scale and in a different context, the restructuring or deregulation of labor markets has influenced the working and living conditions of the creative workforce in the selected countries. In the case of Slovenia, this can especially be seen through a decrease in monthly pay in relation to work performed and other economic activities, whereas in the Korean case important changes can be detected in the rising number of self-employed and occasional fluctuations in monthly pay.

The presence of specific precarization trends within the creative sectors in both societies may imply that the level of working and consequently living autonomy of creative workers is not increasing, but is even decreasing. Contrary to the expectations of creative workers that decided to enter the existing flexible employment relationship due to opportunities for increased working and living autonomy, the analysis shows that their position is gradually deteriorating. Under the present circumstances, the instability and pressures arising from the flexible employment relationship are putting creative workers closer to the position of "*mystified autonomy*" than "*relative autonomy*" (Ray, 2011, 175). Each employee is put in a position of "*relative autonomy*" i.e., is embedded in a specific working context that allows him a more-or-less critical approach when discussing or being active in relation to the employer and general socioeconomic system (Ray, 201, 175). By increasing instability and implementing other forms of informal pressures (i.e., structural constraints on creative workers), their ability to resist and attain more relative autonomy in relation to their employers is decreasing.

Under different circumstances and in a different period, a similar premise was already constructed by Berlin (1969), who discussed the acquisition of "negative freedom" in modern societies. Berlin was aware of increasing instabilities and pressures that lead to increasing control over citizens in modern societies. As such, he noticed that the levers of resistance needed to transform negative freedom into "*positive freedom*" are breaking and falling apart. Negative freedom includes negative rights, which allow citizens to remain free from state interference in some aspects of life (such as speech, thought, religion, military violence, etc.) but limits them in the acquisition of positive freedom, which represents the "*freedom to set the range of choices and the agenda of choice-making*" (Bauman, 2000, 51). In the context of this analysis, it may be concluded that flexibilization and deregulation of the labor market in Slovenia and South Korea generates specific elements of the negative type of freedom, which is expressed thorough precarization of working conditions, consequently leading to deterioration of working and living conditions for creative workers in the selected countries.

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6 One of the more radical responses of workers to this type of precarization (i.e., deregulation of the labor market and the sharp rise in non-temporary jobs) is the *haneul toojeng* 'sky protest' (Minns, 2012; Schober, 2013). Sky protests are held in high places such as industrial cranes, factory towers, transmission towers, bridges, chimneys, and other equipment. They usually include protester(s) that stay in these high places for several months or more.

## KREATIVNA PREKARNOST: FLEKSIBILIZACIJA DELOVNIH POGOJEV IN RAST PREKARNIH KREATIVNIH ZAPOSILITEV V SLOVENIJI IN JUŽNI KOREJI

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### POVZETEK

*Skladno z rastjo ustvarjalnega oz. kreativnega gospodarstva lahko opazimo tudi pojav naraščanja prekarne delo, ki je značilno zlasti za mlade posameznike v tovrstnih dejavnostih. Delovni proces zaposlenih v kreativnih poklicih je zelo prilagodljiv tako glede na način, kraj in plačilo dela. Ponavadi se odločajo za samozaposlitev in hitro premikajo od projekta do projekta, naloge do naloge, od enega do drugega delovnega mesta. Zaradi tovrstnih značilnosti, ki jih ne uvrščajo med tradicionalne tj. gospodarsko in socialno bolj stabilne oblike zaposlitve, jih je pogosto težko zajeti v analize delovnih procesov in razmer. Čeprav posamezniki, ki prakticirajo tovrstno obliko zaposlitve pogosto svoj status opisujejo kot neke vrste zaželen nenehno spreminjajoč se načina življenja, tak profil dela lahko opišemo tudi kot prekarne oblike samozaposlitve z visoko stopnjo negotovosti in nepredvidljivosti, ki vplivajo na ekonomsko stanje in psihično počutje posameznika. Njihovo delo na eni strani nudi svobodo, neodvisnost in ustvarjalni prostor, vendar vsebuje tudi nezaželene stranske učinke, ki jih najdemo v zmanjšanju socialne varnosti in povečanju stresa zaradi preobremenjenosti. Članek na podlagi statistik zaposlovanja in plač analizira nihanja in spremembe v socialnem statusu posameznih skupin ustvarjalnih delavcev v Sloveniji in Južni Koreji. Pri tem se predpostavlja, da intenzivna prestrukturiranja na področju zaposlovanja nakazujejo na naraščajoči globalni trend prekarne delovnih razmerij v kreativnem sektorju.*

**Ključne besede:** prekarne, delavci v kreativnih dejavnostih, fleksibilno zaposlovanje, delovni pogoji, Slovenija, Južna Koreja



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SHOULD HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS WORRY ABOUT THE  
PRECARISATION OF PROFESSIONAL WORK?

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## ABSTRACT

*This conceptual paper seeks to show why and in what ways higher education should worry about the precarisation of professional work. Increasing number of higher education institutions recently strive to improve professional relevance of study programmes in relation to skill (mis)matches and the problem of unemployment. In this context the paper examines the key factors of the development of professional workers in higher education and explains the precarisation of professional work as an increasingly relevant social problem. Particular attention is paid to comparing the precarisation of young graduates of higher education with the elements of precarisation of academics. The paper concludes that the precarisation of graduates and the quality of academic employment are related phenomena.*

**Keywords:** precarious work, labour market, higher education graduates, higher education, professionalization, professionalism

LE ISTITUZIONI DI ISTRUZIONE SUPERIORE DOVREBBERO ALLARMARSI PER LA  
PRECARIZZAZIONE DEL LAVORO PROFESSIONALE?

## SINTESI

*Il presente contributo concettuale si propone di illustrare perché l'istruzione superiore dovrebbe allarmarsi e come dovrebbe procedere di fronte alla precarizzazione del lavoro professionale. Numerose istituzioni di istruzione superiore hanno recentemente cercato di potenziare la rilevanza professionale dei propri programmi di studio in relazione alla (in)compatibilità delle competenze e al problema della disoccupazione. In questo contesto, l'articolo esamina i fattori chiave dello sviluppo dei professionisti nell'istruzione superiore e inquadra la precarizzazione del lavoro professionale come un problema sociale sempre più rilevante. Un'attenzione particolare è rivolta al raffronto tra la precarizzazione dei giovani laureati nell'istruzione superiore e quella degli accademici già affermati. L'articolo conclude che la precarizzazione dei laureati e la precarizzazione degli accademici sono fenomeni collegati.*

**Parole chiave:** lavoro precario, mercato del lavoro, laureati, istruzione superiore, professionalizzazione, professionalità



## INTRODUCTION

In the West, policy makers and stakeholders in higher education are increasingly considering the amount of time that students should spent on practical training during their education. They also are considering (i) how practical and classical learning could be better integrated and (ii) how education systems could strengthen their practical orientation. These concerns are related to recent changes in the labour market, particularly the decrease in the number and quality of jobs that are available to young graduates in most European countries and educational segments. In this paper, we explore the reasons that higher education should worry about the precarisation of professional work, and we determine the areas of work that should receive the greatest attention.

The relationships between higher education and the world of work should not be considered separate from disciplinary particularities. The term, disciplinary particularities, encompasses the nature of professional knowledge, modes of teaching and learning, costs of study, the number of students that are enrolled in a certain programme and the public image of the programme. These particularities determine how particular academic disciplines cooperate with the world of work. Some academic disciplines are practically oriented, and others have an applied emphasis. Some study programmes are very narrow in their vocational scope, while others have broad applications. Neumann (2009), for example, categorized the differences between the inherent logic of professional knowledge and cognitive purpose: the hard-pure category (e.g. natural sciences and mathematics), soft-pure (the humanities and the social sciences), hard-applied (e.g. medicine) and soft-applied (e.g. social work). In this context, the turbulent employment market and the status of young graduates are very much related to the vocational scope of study programmes. Disciplinary differences are also determined according to the established tradition of university-business cooperation modes, which include (i) research and development, (ii) the mobility and training of students and graduates, (iii) the mobility of academics and professionals from the world of work and (iv) the establishment of lifelong learning programmes or curriculum development and delivery (see Pavlin, 2015).

Regardless of differences in disciplinarity, some policy developments in higher education are universal and include concepts and ideas such as the “entrepreneurial university” (Clark, 1998) and “the triple helix model” (Etzkowitz, 2008). Other views on higher education stress the students’ right to choose study areas according to their personal interests, access to higher education regardless of economic situation and socio-biographic background, diversity in study areas, including traditional disciplines that do not have pub-

lic value, development of generic competencies that enable personal development and lifelong careers, setting professional standards for cooperation between education and employers and development of the skills needed for active citizenship (Teichler, 2009, 51; Pavlin et al., 2013). It is expected, however, that the extent of the precarisation of jobs for graduates of higher education as well as the precarisation of the work of those employed in higher education will importantly determine if the future developments of higher education will follow more labour market or more humanistic orientation.

In the next section, we discuss the key principles of the development of professional workers in higher education. In the third section, we describe the precarisation of professional work. In the fourth section, we examine the issue of the precarisation of young graduates of higher education and the precarisation of academic work. In the conclusion, we compare key issues in the precarisation of young graduates of higher education and the precarisation of academic work. We then recommend questions and topics that should be addressed in future research.

## HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROFESSIONAL WORKERS

Even though vocational and academic orientations have varied substantially because of the differing natures of professional knowledge, universities are assumed to play a key role in the development of theoretical and practical knowledge as well as the socialisation of future professionals. Universities were originally designed to accumulate, systemise, transfer and certify the knowledge of a particular professional domain. According to Teichler (2015, 469), economically advanced countries consider that the key educational functions of higher education are to train young professionals by (i) “*stimulating students intellectually in the academic domain, i.e., teach them to understand and master the academic theories, methods and knowledge domains*”, (ii) “*contributing to cultural enhancement and personality development*”, (iii) “*preparing students for subsequent work [...] [and] helping them to use the typical ‘rules and tools’ needed in their professional life*”, and (iv) “*fostering the ability to challenge established practices [...]*” in terms of generating new knowledge. An important contribution that further describes these developments was presented by the sociology of professions. This discipline traditionally describes professionals as the target occupational and class destination of those completing higher education:

*Professions are essentially the knowledge-based category of occupations which usually follow a period of tertiary education and vocational*

*training and experience. A different way of categorizing these occupations is to see professions as the structural, occupational and institutional arrangements for dealing with work associated with the uncertainties of modern lives in risk societies. Professionals are extensively engaged in dealing with risk, with risk assessment and, through the use of expert knowledge, enabling customers and clients to deal with uncertainty* (Evetts, 2003, 397).

In higher educational programmes, formal learning differs from knowledge acquisition in the world of work because it is based on rationalisation, reflection and scientific principles. However, knowledge developed in higher education institutions should enable graduates to select and connect theories to a particular situation and understand new situations (Eraut, 2006, 49). This link has not been fully explored (Svensson, 1990, 52–56). The development of professional knowledge is determined by several different elements, agents and processes:

- a) *Modes of teaching and learning* imply classical lectures, group assignments, team work, internships, lectures, oral presentations and examinations. A key element that reflects these processes is the effort that students are expected to invest in completing their study obligations as well as improving their talent and other personal characteristics before, during and at graduation.
- b) *Characteristics of study programmes* are related to formal programme requirements, such as programme duration, type of qualification, relations with employers and professional associations, learning relations, vocational orientation, prestige and so on.
- c) *Personal characteristics of students* include intelligence, social background, gender, previous educational and work experiences. Work experiences (relevant and non-relevant) during education determine the personal centrality of “higher education” experiences.
- d) *Transition from education to the labour market* implies modes and duration of job search, “transitional” jobs and earnings, coverage of expenses, national and international mobility and so on.
- e) *Employment after graduation* is related to vertical and horizontal education match, formal work requirements, quality of employment, including characteristics of work place, competition, stability of demand and so on.
- f) *Characteristics of professional work* are related to work vertical and horizontal skill matches, future career possibilities, managerial and pro-

fessional orientation of work, autonomy, identity, personal values, orientation and so on.

The key questions that place the role of higher education into the perspective of the labour market are the following (Teichler, 2007, 14–15): (i) “*does the expansion of higher education [...] match the changes of graduate employment, or can signs of substantial shortages or oversupply in the highly educated labour force?*”; (ii) “*does the expansion of higher education stimulate or retard the economic growth?*”; (iii) what is the extent of pluralisation of “[...] *occupations, newly emerging job roles and innovative tasks across established occupational categories*”; (iv) what is the extent of “*innovations in the employment systems triggered off by changes in higher education*”; and (v) does an “*open education system in a society reward high-level education?*”. The transition of young graduates from education to the world of work is one of the major policy issues in the recent development of higher education (Pavlin, 2014), where “*attention was increasingly paid to unemployment, precarious employment and employment in low-level occupations and positions of higher education graduates*” (Teichler, 2007, 16). Key concepts that accompany emerging social problems are employability in terms of individual capabilities to find a meaningful job (Pavlin, 2014) and the skill-supply phenomenon versus the skill-demand phenomenon as measured by skill shortages versus skill surpluses (Allen & Van der Velden, 2001). The dilemma of having or not having a job within a few years after graduation is increasingly viewed from the perspective of long-term career goals. In particular, the question concerns whether it is worth taking a job that offers low security and financial incentives but has the high potential for development in the long term. In the DEHEMS project (2015-) this question was deemed even more complex. The employability of higher education graduates has been measured by the relation between their success in the labour market (e.g. past education and work experiences, type of higher education, educational characteristics, modes of teaching and learning, international experiences and study success) and the components of career success, which are occupational status, skill and qualification matching, autonomy, innovation and satisfaction.

However, it is important to reiterate that even though higher education increases the ability to adaptation of their programmes to assume requirements from the world of work, make study programmes more demanding or strengthen connections with employers it would still have only limited effects on the careers and professional development of graduates. Humburg et al. (2013, v) indicated that subject-specific knowledge and expert thinking were the most important skill set that affected graduates’ employability, but interpersonal skills, such as communication skills and team-

work, were similarly important. The study also found that according to employers, relevant work experience was very important factor in acquiring a job. In the current employment situation, more graduates are seeking jobs of higher quality. Many do not believe that the ever-increasing pressure to develop better skills would improve their employment perspectives. The interplay between professional skills and professional protection is a normative value of professional standards. In some regions and countries, higher education institutions contribute to these issues through goods and services markets, professional associations or shaping professional standards. In other areas, higher education institutions have only a marginal role, and they leave the developmental processes of occupational professionalization to other players. However, cuts in public finances in the last decades have jeopardised the position of higher education institutions in these developments.

### PRECARISATION

Globalisation has caused many changes to professional work. Professions have been increasingly exposed to hybridisation in recent years: we are now experiencing new forms of professions and professionalization. Noordegraaf described the several types of professionalism as

***pure professionalism**, aimed at restoring a traditional professional logic, free from and protected against managerial logics [...] **controlled professionalism**, aimed at disciplining professional work within organisational settings and structures... **managed professionalism**, aimed at hybridising professional/ organisational logics, in terms of structures, systems and roles [...] **organising professionalism**, aimed at going beyond hybridity, especially by embedding organising and organising roles and capacities within professional action* (Noordegraaf, 2015, 200).

As Noordegraaf proposed, professional types have adjusted in order to survive in various environments. Another typology was proposed by Evetts (2013, 788), who described two different forms of professionalism in knowledge-based work. *Occupational professionalism* is characterised by the discourse of professional workers, collegial authority, discretion and occupational control of the work, practitioner trust by both clients and employers, controls operationalized by practitioners, professional ethics monitored by institutions and associations. *Organisational professionalism* is generated by rational-legal forms of authority, hierarchical structures of authority and decision-making, managerialism and accountability,

externalized forms of regulation, target-setting and performance reviews. Because both logics can apply, occupational and organisational professionalism are not mutually exclusive but are in parallel. This duality has been caused by the rise of neoliberalism and of market fundamentalism, which is a “*defining feature of the normative and technical environment surrounding professional work*”, as well as cultural fragmentation and post-modern scepticism, which are “*the result of the questioning of grand narratives and the epistemological assumptions of professional competence*” (Leicht, 2015, 2). Professional organisations are increasingly subject to “performance indicators” and accountability. According to Evetts (2013, 790), “*the meaning of professionalism is not fixed, however, and sociological analysis of the concept has demonstrated changes over time both in its interpretation and function*”. According to Brock et al. (2014, 1–2), professional workers are not “*lords of the dance*” only in traditional fields of education, health and justice but have taken key positions in entirely new areas, such as farming and manufacturing. In these areas, professionals develop new professionalised modes of cooperation with clients, as well as new products and new specialties.

The hybridisation of professionalization and professionalism has been accompanied by the elements of precarisation of work. The precarisation of work has spread to several labour market segments, such as youth, women and immigrants. It is an important question to what extent are higher education professionals, particularly young graduates, affected by this process in comparison to other segments of workers. According to Vallas and Prener (2012, 332), “*The rise of nonstandard, contingent, or precarious employment has received growing attention among social scientists, who have begun to produce a sprawling literature that has documented the spread of involuntary part-time, temporary, and contract work [...]*”. Precarisation is a global process:

*One of the most important trends over the past decades is undeniably the growth of insecurity in the world of work. Worldwide, unimaginable numbers of workers suffer from precarious, insecure, uncertain and unpredictable working conditions. Unemployment figures alone are cause for concern, but even these fail to capture the larger majority of people who work, but who do not have a decent job, with a decent wage, a secure future, social protection and access to rights* (ILO, 2011, 1).

The decline in the number of “good jobs” and the rise in the number of “bad jobs” can be observed as the outcome of economic restructuring and the disappearance of legislation that protects workers in the la-



bour market (Kalleberg, 2011). Furthermore, Standing described this as the new social order:

[A]t the top is an 'elite', consisting of a tiny number of absurdly rich global citizens lording it over the universe, with their billions of dollars [...] Below that elite comes the 'salariat', still in stable full-time employment [...] The salariat is concentrated in large corporations, government agencies and public administration, including the civil service [...] the growing 'precariat' [...] consists of people who have minimal trust relationships with capital or the state, making it quite unlike the salariat. And it has none of the social contract relationships of the proletariat, whereby labour securities were provided in exchange for subordination and contingent loyalty, the unwritten deal underpinning welfare states (Standing, 2011, 7–8).

These issues are included in the concept of the risk society, which has been characterised by large changes in traditional norms and values (Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1994). The ILO stated, "in the most general sense, precarious work is a means for employers to shift risks and responsibilities on to workers [...]" (ILO, 2011, 5). ILO defines precarious work as uncertainty about the duration of employment, multiple employers, ambiguous employment relationships, the lack of access to social protection and benefits usually associated with employment, low pay and substantial legal and obstacles to joining a trade union and bargaining collectively (ILO, 2011). Consequently, workers in precarious conditions have difficulties in building professional careers, personal development and family life. Olsthoorn (2014) proposed two indicators to measure precarious work: the first indicator measures income insecurity "and is constructed using wage, supplementary income and unemployment benefit entitlements"; and the second "focuses on job insecurity and is constructed using contract type and unemployment duration".

Precarious workers are under stress in their private and working lives, which might be particularly the case with young graduates of higher education who have already developed a vocational identity through years of schooling and at the time of graduation intend to establish a family. However, instead of a regular job, they are often offered various internships and temporary jobs as the entry point to establishing a professional career. According to Standing precarious workers

must devote a growing amount of time to work-for-labour, without it offering a reliable road to economic security or an occupational career worthy of the name [...] To be precaritized is to

be wired into job-performing lifestyles without a sense of occupational development [...] Multitasking lowers productivity in every activity. Fractured thinking becomes habitual. It makes it harder to do creative work or to indulge in leisure that requires concentration, deliberation and sustained effort. It crowds out leisure, leaving people relieved just to play, passively in the mental sense. Nonstop interactivity is the opium of the precariat, just as beer and gin drinking was for the first generation of the industrial proletariat [...] And if the precariat does have occupational skills, those may vanish [...] (Standing, 2011, 130–131).

Policy makers want higher education institutions to participate in solving this social problem. They believe that improving educational outcomes and upgrading youth skills leads to better labour market outcomes (e.g. Scarpetta & Sonnet, 2012). The hidden assumption is that better skills lead to more and better jobs: "success in converting skills into productive jobs largely depends on developing a better understanding of whether the right mix of skills is being taught and learned in equitable and efficient ways [...]" (Scarpetta & Sonnet, 2012, 7). Currently, most higher education stakeholders support ideas of increasing labour market orientation of higher education, which includes university business cooperation. However, if the perspective on the increase in precarious work of higher education graduates and established academics would gain more public and learners attention and provoke their stronger reactions different approaches to generating good jobs for professionals might have been considered. But why should higher education worry about the precarisation of existing professional work?

#### WHY HIGHER EDUCATION SHOULD WORRY ABOUT THE PRECARISATION OF PROFESSIONAL WORK?

Higher education institutions still have a central role in providing professional training for young graduates. However, in recent years, the deregulation and precarisation of professional jobs have jeopardised the way professionals traditionally have experienced their work. Three broad areas of concern should alert higher education institutions to worry about precarisation: 1) the precarisation of young graduates, particularly in transition from education to the labour market, weakens the quality of professional work, professional identity and possibilities of future professional development; 2) the emerging elements of precarisation of academics weakens the training of young professionals as well as the development of professional domains; and 3) the emerging larger socio-political consequences related to precarisation

cause changes in the traditional values related to trust of professional workers. These three areas are related to broader societal changes. In this section, we elaborate each area.

### Precarisation of higher education graduates

Earlier in this paper, we described the relation between higher education institutions and the world of work. In particular, we considered the role that higher education institutions play in forming their graduates' "employability". According to Teichler (2015, 470–471), greater graduate employability includes enhancing graduates' career success, students' efforts to increase the exchange value of their study area, the match of study programmes with areas of work, practical orientation of higher education, enhancement of competencies that are needed in the labour market, and increased assistance to students in the transfer to the employment system. The call for greater employability has been also strongly promoted in response to the increasing precarisation of work among young highly skilled workers. According to Poggio et al. (2012, 8), *"the ongoing economic crisis, as well as labour market reforms enhancing flexibility have created uncertain conditions for all young people, regardless of their skills levels or education"*. Even though young highly skilled workers in Europe have above average employment rates compared to their colleagues with lower levels of education, countries such as Italy, Spain and Greece indicate very low employment rates among the highly educated. Poggio et al. (2012) reported that young graduates have difficulties in finding or keeping a job in all EU countries, and they are characterised by the high probability of being employed in temporary jobs. In addition, Lodovici and Semanaza (2012) showed that precarious work among young workers, including the highly skilled, caused uncertainty in all spheres of life. According to Lodovici and Semanaza, problems in the early transition from education to the labour market cause problems in later career stages as well as the loss of human capital in terms of investment in higher education institutions.

The reasons that higher education should worry about the precarisation of professional work are diverse, and they are both functional and ethical. According to the results of the DEHEMS project (see Pavlin, 2014), many who are employed in higher education, particularly in some new EU states, do not consider the systematic collection and utilisation of the hard evidence of graduates careers as mandatory for the development and adaptation of higher education programmes to the labour market. Some critics have said that they worry more about their own jobs even though the lack of higher education professional relevance could jeopardise higher education pro-

grammes they are engaged in. There are several reasons that higher education institutions should worry about the lack of good jobs in professional domains and the precarisation of the work performed by their graduates – if they want to in a long term maintain a central player in providing professional training and support the professional relevance of their particular domain. Below we describe five of them.

First, higher education institutions should in principle support graduates to find good jobs that match their field of study. Good jobs that are related to the field of study and personal vocational choice nurture professionalism, satisfaction with work, and personal values, thereby enabling personal and professional development. Professionalism has logics that differ from managerialism, which stipulates ever-increasing efficiency and competition, which often means working harder with fewer resources. However, in many cases, managerialism alone do not contribute to the *raison-d'être* of professionals and higher education institutions.

The second reason is related to particular aspects of apprenticeships, internships and traineeships in the transition of graduates to the labour market. Although the training of professionals is in principle a process of socialisation, new forms of practical professional training have become highly institutionalised, and they often have abandoned its primary role. Practical learning sometimes present a legal barrier and obstacle for obtaining work in particular profession (Perlin, 2012). In some cases, practical learning in higher education might lead to continuous temporary employment, which is key indicator of precariousness.

The third reason that higher education institutions should worry about the precarisation of professional work is related to massification and commodification of higher education and consequently (too) larger number of graduates in particular domains. In recent decades, higher education has experienced a massive increase in the number of new students. This trend has not been triggered by the demands of the labour market. Standing (2011, 67) gave the example of Spain, where *"40 per cent of Spanish university students a year after graduating find themselves in low-skilled jobs that do not require their qualifications. This can only produce a pandemic of status frustration"*. Moreover, *"A British survey found that nearly 2 million workers were 'mismatched', having skills that did not match their jobs"* (Standing, 2011, 122). According to Standing, *"only a third of all new jobs will be available for young people who complete tertiary education. A majority will be bumped down into jobs that do not require high-level qualifications"* (Standing, 2011, 68). This issue not only might result in frustration but also might cause young graduates to incur severe debt related to their investment in higher

education study programmes. For this reason, in certain study fields, higher education institutions should focus on the quality of their study programmes instead of the number of students.

The fourth reason is related to the increasing stress young graduates experience in their first jobs. In particular, *“professionals reported significantly higher levels of work intensity than all other occupational groups, and higher levels of stress and work-life imbalance”* (Le Fevre et al., 2015, 966). Moreover, a large scale survey conducted among approximately 40,000 graduates (Allen et al., 2011) found that the competencies that were in the greatest demand were related to the ability to work under stress and time management. Combined with work insecurity, work-related stress leads to exhaustion and the “burn-out” effect. Higher education institutions should consider paying greater attention to these issues not only by equipping graduates with the ability to work under stress but also by promoting work-friendly professional environments. If the present trend of work and stress intensification continues, higher education institutions will no longer be perceived as avenues to a better life, career development or social status.

The fifth reason is related to the obsolescence of knowledge and the increasing speed at which knowledge is produced by innovation, dissemination and utilisation (Lundvall, 2001). According to Standing (2011, 124), *“There is a paradox. The more skilled the work, the more likely it is that refinements will take place, requiring ‘retraining’. Another way of putting it is as follows: The more trained you are, the more likely you are to become unskilled in your sphere of competence”*. Consequently, in their present form, professionals might be replaced by precarious specialists because the only path to the labour market will be through narrow and precarious specialisations. Therefore, higher education institutions might consider developing modes of cooperation between universities and business, particularly lifelong learning programmes that would focus on bridges to different specialisations. At present, it is difficult to predict the meaning that such cooperation would have for future professional development.

In summary, the five reasons that higher education should worry about the increasing precarisation of professional work are interrelated. Efforts that are related to nurturing professionalism in a particular domain, ensuring relevant work experience, matching the quality and quantity of students, promoting family-friendly working standards, and establishing integrated lifelong learning programmes as links between different specialisations could enable the professional domain to survive in the long term. These efforts might prevent or slow down the precarisation that has spread in some countries and professional domains.

### Perspectives of academic precarisation

Occupational precarisation and deprofessionalization in academia can be described as the downgrading of working conditions, which is caused by increasing internal and external competition. In many higher education institutions, academics work harder for less money and social security. Both processes—precarisation and deprofessionalization—are accompanied by bureaucratisation and the principles and rules of managerialism (see Freidson, 2001). Even though both processes are inherent in many occupational groups and labour market segments, those *“in the process of employment”* in academia suffer more than most others. Academics have invested in their professional careers heavily often being exposed to voluntary unpaid work and the constant evaluations that are an integral part of academic careers. *“Many teachers and academics became depressed and stressed as they try to adjust [...] The neo-liberal state that fosters commercial behaviour reacts to the reluctance of teachers to do standard teaching by introducing artificial performance and auditing tests and indicators, backed by sanctions and penalties”* (Standing, 2011, 71). Academic administrators and government officials increasingly monitor and control the formal and financial aspects of academic work. Because of the uncertain financial situation in academia, academics are increasingly asked to be responsible for own project funding. At the same time they are increasingly dependant on student enrolments and responsible for the (re)accreditation of new programmes, which requires extra work and causes additional stress. The applications for some EU grants can require two to three months of extra work although less than 10 per cent are successful.

An additional problem in the context of academic precarisation is the increasing segmentation within higher education (Musselin, 2007; Henkel, 2007). Segmentation can be viewed as falling between teaching and research, permanent and temporary contracts, obligatory and optional courses and formal status (e.g. young assistants versus full professors). As elaborated by Teichler (2010, 162), some of these differences are reflected in highly disproportional workloads. In some cases, only a small percentage of academics produce the largest academic output. Moreover, one segment of academic workers in some cases assumes social risks for the other segment by taking on projects that are associated with much harder working conditions. Therefore, this group of workers assumes risks for the benefit of other academics who have permanent and easier work. The situation is particularly delicate when the hard-working and risk-taking group has little or no access to decision-making, funding or career development. Moreover, such hard workers and risk takers are more exposed to the hybridisation of their work in



terms of administrative responsibilities, which Abbott (1988) described as the entrance of bureaucratic and managerial logics into professional work.

Academics, particularly those in the hard-working and risk-taking segment, are subject to evaluations of their efficiency, productivity and performance. Such evaluations are related to the implementation of national and international projects, the production of scientific papers, national and international financial audits, student satisfaction evaluations, internalisation, and so on. These performance measures gradually trigger another step in driving academic segmentation. According to Enders and Musselin (2008, 138), *“When the number of papers published each year in international journals and with a high impact factor becomes a main (and easy to calculate) indicator of performance, involvement in risky research projects with a long-term perspective for publication is no longer attractive”*.

In this context, the future developments of (de)professionalization and precarisation in academia could include the following expectations (Pavlin et al., 2013, 74): *“One may expect that deprofessionalization and diversification of academic work will continue also in the next decades [...] Some academics might increasingly fall into the new emerging occupations that are gradually starting own professionalization projects”*. Such emerging occupations include project coordinators, teaching specialists, university-business cooperation specialists, international officers, alumni officers, public relations workers, career developers, and so on. As described earlier, some tasks in these “new academic occupations” are gradually already entering the work agendas of traditional academic professions and to some extent already shape performance expectations. The segmentation, performativity, deprofessionalization and precarisation of academic work in general is reflected in the deterioration of academic autonomy and identity, which is related to changes in personal values and the quality of work. This trend promotes circumstances in which higher education institutions produce higher education graduates that are challenged by precarity.

### Changes in society

The precarisation of academic work has direct effects on public perceptions of and trust in professionals and professionalism. Unemployed graduates and graduates in precarious employment and precarious workers employed in academia are gradually forming a new social class. This vulnerable class will gradually question and test social values such as the traditional role of the family as well as issues of the global challenges related to massive influxes of immigrants. Such circumstances may cause important shifts in the perceptions of democracy as we know it.

### CONCLUSION

The precarisation of graduates and elements of academic precarisation are related. They appear in the context where higher education institutions are exposed to globalisation, massification, diversification of programmes and (policy driven) standardisation. Precarisation of graduates and academics can not be viewed independently from the quality of education and its professional relevance from the perspective of education and skill (mis)matches, the job quality and (un)employment. Emerging problems in academia and in the employment of young professionals might be represented in Standing's view of the “old Soviet joke”

*in which the workers said, ‘They pretend to pay us, we pretend to work’. The education variant would be as follows: ‘They pretend to educate us, we pretend to learn’. Infantilising the mind is part of the process, not for the elite but for the majority. Courses are made easier, so that pass rates can be maximised. Academics must conform (Standing, 2011, 72).*

The precarisation of higher education graduates as well as in certain ways also academics is reflected in the decreasing quality of teaching and the decreasing relevance of professionals. In the current circumstances of shrinking public finances, academics often do not have the capacity to learn about the development of graduates increasingly complex and flexible professional careers. Therefore, higher education should worry about the precarisation of professional work because of the need for i) promoting professionalism as a personal value in own professional domains what is related to the social status of graduates and various aspects of working conditions, ii) supporting the overall quality of professional work and services, and iii) providing professionally relevant work experiences and teaching. All three aspects significantly contribute to the development and survival of university programmes and academic workers. In this context, several questions for further research can be identified:

- a) How to understand and measure the connection between the elements of precarious employment of academics with the precarious employment of their graduates? Can be drawn any parallels in terms of employment segmentation between both groups?
- b) What should be minimum employment standards for workers in higher education institutions? What are the implications of the low employment conditions of academics for the careers of their graduates? What are the roles of the state and professional associations in these developments?

- c) Should higher education institutions be prevented from enrolling new students in education programmes that have little or no employment potential in the labour market? Shall the state still support professional study programmes that lead to precarious employment?
- d) What codes of ethics should be established in this respect? Should the state strengthen the role of external quality assurance agencies in monitoring the professional relevance of higher education institutions? Is it necessary to establish another agency that would follow graduates careers only from the labour market perspective?
- e) How to determine the responsibility of the state for supporting professional domains with low market value such as is sometimes the case with humanities?
- f) In this context, what are differences and similarities in disciplinarity?

We conclude by calling for much more integrated further research on the relationships between the precarisation of graduates of higher education, the precarisation of professionals in higher education and broader consequences of precarisation for developments of professional domains and society.

## ALI NAJ VISOKOŠOLSKE INSTITUCIJE SKRBI PREKARIZACIJA PROFESIONALNEGA DELA?

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### POVZETEK

*Ta konceptualni članek pokaže zakaj in zaradi katerih razlogov naj visokošolske institucije skrbi prekarizacija profesionalnega dela. Vedno večje število visokošolskih institucij se v zadnjem času trudi izboljšati profesionalno relevantnost študijskih programov v relaciji do (ne)ujemanja spretnosti in problemom brezposelnosti. V tem kontekstu članek proučuje glavne dejavnike, ki v visokem šolstvu vplivajo na razvoj profesionalcev in označi prekarizacijo profesionalnega dela kot zelo relevanten družben problem. Posebna pozornost je namenjena primerjavi prekarizacije mladih visokošolskih diplomantov z elementi prekarizacije akademikov. Članek zaključimo z ugotovitvijo, da sta prekarizacija diplomantov in kvaliteta zaposlitev akademikov povezana pojava.*

**Ključne besede:** prekarno delo, trg dela, visokošolski diplomanti, visoko šolstvo, profesionalizacija, profesionalnost



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ADAPTABILITY OF POLITICAL PARTIES TO THE ECONOMIC AND  
FINANCIAL CRISIS? SOME EVIDENCE FROM SLOVENIA AND  
THE CZECH REPUBLIC

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## ABSTRACT

*This article examines the adaptability of Slovenian and Czech political parties to the global economic and financial crisis that hit Europe in 2008. Following many political scientists, we expected parties to adapt to the public's preferences and to address, directly or indirectly, the issue of the growing scope of precarious work in their election programmes. The analysis revealed that parties barely followed the public's preferences, opting not to directly respond to the challenge. However, it is obvious that the parties made considerable adaptations in response to challenges from the international environment because virtually all of their election programmes mentioned the issue of the labour market's flexibility. As expected, in this regard, it is possible to detect the importance of party ideology since liberal and conservative parties as a rule saw a bigger need to introduce flexibility to the labour market to a greater extent.*

**Keywords:** political party, crisis, Slovenia, Czech Republic, adaptability

ADATTAMENTO DEI PARTITI POLITICI ALLA CRISI ECONOMICA E FINANZIARIA?  
ALCUNE PROVE DALLA SLOVENIA E DALLA REPUBBLICA Ceca

## SINTESI

*Il presente articolo esamina la capacità di adattamento dei partiti politici sloveni e cechi nel contesto della crisi economica e finanziaria globale che colpì l'Europa nel 2008. Dato l'elevato numero di politologi nelle loro fila, ci aspettavamo che i partiti politici si sarebbero adattati alle preferenze del pubblico affrontando nei loro programmi elettorali, direttamente o indirettamente, il sostanziale aumento del lavoro precario. L'analisi ha rivelato che i partiti hanno quasi completamente ignorato le preferenze del pubblico, scegliendo di non rispondere alla sfida direttamente. È evidente, comunque, che i partiti abbiano apportato considerevoli adattamenti in seguito alle sfide lanciate dall'ambiente internazionale, perché praticamente tutti i loro programmi elettorali citavano la questione della flessibilità del mercato del lavoro. Come previsto, è possibile rilevare a questo proposito l'importanza dell'ideologia di partito, dato che i partiti liberali e conservatori di norma riconoscevano la pressante necessità di introdurre una maggiore flessibilità nel mercato del lavoro.*

**Parole chiave:** partito politico, crisi, Slovenia, Repubblica Ceca, adattabilità



## INTRODUCTION

As many political scientists have shown (e.g. Harmel and Janda, 1982; Panebianco, 1988; Harmel, 2002; Mair et al., 2004; Meyer and Wagner, 2013), parties operate in different environments and are supposed to adapt to challenges stemming from these environments. Indeed, parties have frequently been described as vote-seeking, office-seeking and policy-seeking organisations (Müller and Strøm, 1999), although gaining as much electoral support as possible is their main aim. Therefore, parties should for the most part take the preferences of the public or voters into account. This also means parties should be responsive actors who react sympathetically to the short-term demands of voters and public opinion (Bardi et al., 2014).

This article deals with the question of the adaptability of Slovenian and Czech political parties to their environments, more precisely, to the economic and financial crisis which hit both countries hard. One of the key challenges faced by parties in both countries in the 2008–2014 period should have been the issue of precarious work and its scope, a clear consequence of globalisation and the prevalence of neoliberal policies (Standing, 2011). It was also obviously connected with calls from different international organisations to implement structural reforms, among them the need to introduce greater flexibility to the labour market. The European Commission (2014, 5) revealed that Portugal in particular had seen a significant reduction in employment protection legislation, but reductions are also visible in other countries, including Slovenia. Temporary work is close to precarious work, and the issue of the widespread diffusion of temporary work may become problematic when coupled with low transitions to permanent jobs (European Commission, 2014).

*This is most notably the case of Poland and Spain, where temporary work make up for a large share of total employment (respectively, 26.8% and 23.7%) and low transitions to stable jobs render temporary contracts 'dead ends' rather than 'stepping stones' into the labour market. Some other countries, among them Slovenia, also recorded above EU-average of temporary contracts (13.7%) (European Commission, 2014, 6–7).*

Given these findings, one might expect the issue of precarious work and/or flexibility of the labour market to be more heavily addressed by Slovenian than by Czech parties. To find out how the parties responded to these challenges, an analysis of their election programmes was conducted since it is precisely via (changes in their) programmes that parties usually adapt to their environments (Wilson, 1994). However, willingness, capacity and/or the strategic decision to

adapt (can) vary among parties and, importantly, can be determined by party-specific characteristics.

To sum up, the main goal of the article is to find out whether Slovenian and Czech political parties adapted to the preferences of the public/voters (and therefore acted as responsive actors) during the global economic and financial crisis that hit Europe in 2008. In particular, we focus on how the parties reflect the issue of the growing scope of precarious work and/or the flexibility of the labour market in their election programmes, and if party-specific factors like mainstream or challenger party status, party ideology and (non)governmental status of the party can explain parties' (in)adaptability to the crisis.

## POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR ENVIRONMENTS

Political parties are organisations that perform many functions and which have, like other organisations, several ambitions or goals they try to achieve. According to Müller and Strøm (1999), parties can be described as having three main goals: vote-seeking, office-seeking and policy-seeking. As stated by Panebianco (1988, 5), parties are the only organisations that operate in the electoral arena and gaining as much electoral support as possible is their most important goal because it can serve as a means for achieving the latter two goals (Müller and Strøm, 1999).

However, like other organisations, parties operate in environments that have (in)direct influences on them. Indeed, they even operate simultaneously in different (internal and external) environments and frequently adapt to the challenges in those environments (Harmel and Janda, 1982; Panebianco, 1988). However, parties usually adapt more to some environments than to others. The reasons for the specific levels of parties' accommodation to their environments may lie within the parties themselves but can also arise from the complexity of the environments. It is worth bearing in mind here that parties are conservative organisations so changes will not be introduced if they are not necessary (Panebianco, 1988) or, in the words of Harmel and Janda (1994, 265), parties change only when it is established that there is a good cause, and not simply for the sake of change. Nonetheless, empirical evidence supports the conclusion that parties do indeed change (Harmel, 2002, 119).

Harmel (2002, 121–127) identifies three historical reasons why parties change: party change is a function of a party's maturity and growth; party changes can be seen as an adaptive response to environmental challenges; and party change can be a reaction to some combination of the above two reasons. The relevance of the same environment for a party can vary over time (Panebianco, 1988), although it is up to individual parties to estimate the importance of different environments and to decide whether or how to respond to pressures from the environment. Therefore, it is no surprise that

some parties decide to respond to a particular pressure or challenge in their environment, while others decide not to do so, and still others fail to respond altogether (Mair et al., 2004). However, it would be wrong to see parties solely as organisations that tend to adapt themselves more or less to their environments since parties can also dominate an environment (Panebianco, 1988). The choice of strategy is not solely dependent upon parties but is also determined by the characteristics of the environment (Harmel and Janda, 1982; Panebianco, 1988).

#### LINES OF INTER-PARTY COMPETITION AND PUBLIC PREFERENCES

In line with the concept of responsiveness, as well as the conviction that parties are the main agents of representation in modern democracies, they should primarily adapt to the preferences of the public or voters. Developed by Stimson et al. (1995), the concept of dynamic representation pushed this idea to the extremes: parties are expected to sense changes in the public and to alter their policies and behaviour accordingly, even though parties generally are reluctant to alter their stances on policies radically, especially in the short term (Adams et al., 2004).

Several reservations arise concerning the idea that parties should dynamically reflect the public's/voters' preferences (be re-active to them).<sup>1</sup> First, parties may be unable to adapt for intra-party reasons or are unwilling to adapt because they are unsure about voter expectations (Zons, 2015). Second, even when parties try to respond to shifts in public/voter preferences, they can misperceive them (Adams et al., 2004). Third, it is easier for parties to change the saliency of issues than their position on a particular issue (Meyer and Wagner, 2013). Fourth, voter/public preference is not the only external environment in which parties operate in the era of globalisation and open economies; market and international actors have become increasingly important and, in some respects, there are important discrepancies between public/voter preferences and those of market actors (Ezrow and Hellwig, 2014, 818). Fifth, much evidence has shown that parties also form or adjust their stances in response to the stances of other parties and their strategies (Downs, 1957; Adams et al., 2004; Zons, 2015); in particular, parties are responsive to the stances of other parties from the same party family (Adams and Somer-Topcu, 2009). In relation to the latter observation,

two theories of party competition should be noted here: a) spatial theory, or the classic theory of party competition (Downs, 1957); and b) saliency theory (Robertson, 1976). The first stresses the idea that all parties, aiming to secure as much electoral support as possible, take a stand on the same topics or issues, while the main idea of the second theory is that parties introduce new/neglected issues of party competition.

#### INTER-PARTY COMPETITION AND PARTY-SPECIFIC FACTORS

Since potential differences among parties and their 'willingness' to introduce/adapt to new issues lie at the heart of this article, several party characteristics can be important. Among party-specific factors that stimulate parties' introduction/adaptation to new issues are mainstream or challenger party status and party ideology while, in relation to the economic and financial crisis, the (non)governmental status of a party is more commonly mentioned.

Several empirical studies have found that new and challenger parties (parties that have not previously held political office)<sup>2</sup> in particular are more inclined to adopt new issues or issues that have been (almost) neglected by mainstream parties. The reasons range from the belief that such parties have a powerful incentive to promote new/neglected issues and redirect party competition lines, the belief that it is easier for new parties to adapt to new challenges because they have not developed highly distinctive and durable identities that need to be overcome if new issues are to be addressed, through to the belief that such parties have less to lose if a new idea fails (Caul and Gray, 2000; Kittilson, 2011; De Vries and Hobolt, 2012; Wagner, 2012; Meyer and Wagner, 2013; Zons, 2015). New/challenger parties in need of innovation have to be cautious because the new/neglected issues they (try to) introduce have to be (at least partly) relevant to the public; otherwise, their potential electoral success could be seriously threatened (De Vries and Hobolt, 2012). For new/challenger parties to be electorally successful, voters also have to vote on the basis of preferences on the new/neglected issue.

In deciding which issues to focus on in party competition, parties mainly follow voters' current concerns or stress issues they have ownership over (Wagner and Meyer, 2014). The latter idea is strongly connected with party families<sup>3</sup>/ideologies; historically, some parties have been more closely connected with certain is-

1 In this perspective, parties only try to shape public opinion to a limited extent.

2 In several works, it is possible to identify an overlap among categories of challenger and niche parties, although some differences between the two concepts are clear (see Meguid, 2005; De Vries and Hobolt, 2012).

3 Even though it is often presumed that in a post-ideological period, party families may become an obsolete concept it is still widely used and proves to be relevant in many comparative as well as case studies. It is true there have been many variations within party families and changes within them, but it is still a useful concept to reveal variation among the different ideologies of parties (Elff, 2013). This seems to also be true regarding the parties and party systems in new democracies, where indeed in some cases parties do not correspond to the "model" types defined by "Western" political science (Cabada et al., 2014, 13).

sues and policies and have a long-standing reputation for handling them successfully. While conservative and liberal parties are usually seen as more competent to deal with macroeconomic matters, social-democratic/socialist parties are typically seen as more competent than their adversaries are on welfare issues, equality and the protection of workers' rights. In the inter-party competition, parties should aim to increase the overall salience of the issues they own because it will be to the party's electoral advantage if elections centre on those issues (Wagner and Meyer, 2014, 1021). Based on the presented arguments, we expect new/challenger parties from the left or centre-left in particular to adapt to and address the issue of precarious work in their election programmes, given the rise in the issue's salience.

As Wagner and Meyer (2014) noted, parties are more likely in their election programmes to address issues for which they were responsible in government. Given that precarious work and its scope are a consequence of globalisation and the prevalence of neoliberalism (Standing, 2011), it is interesting to note the finding of Ezrow and Hellwig (2014, 816, 821) that the responsiveness of parties to moves in public/voter preferences will be more accurate when the national economy is sufficiently sheltered from the world economy and that the constraining effect of economic globalisation is more pronounced for parties with governmental experience because they are/should be better able than other parties to incorporate into their programmes the enhanced relevance of market/international actors for voters' preferences.

## ANALYSIS OF ELECTION PROGRAMMES

### Selection of Countries

Due to the importance of parties' electoral function, parties are expected to form election programmes. Election programmes are formal documents that are presented to voters and party members as recognisable statements on policies (Klingemann et al., 1994) and are used to attract voters and mobilise intra-party groups. Still, as Harrison contends (2013, 51), programmes have a predominantly external orientation. Even though some authors (e.g. Budge, 1987; Bara, 2006) are convinced that only a small number of voters read election programmes (and decide on parties on these grounds)<sup>4</sup>, they are still an important feature of party competition because they can add relevance to some issues. According to Wilson (1994), it is precisely *via* (changes in their) programmes

that parties usually adapt to their environments.

In addition, as Merz and Regel (in Uršič et al., 2015) mention, one of the best ways to grasp the multitude of differences between competing political actors is to examine their election programmes, as they are an authoritative statement of a party reflecting its programmatic profile for an election. Harrison (2013) believes that programmes are the closest thing to an official view of the parties' discourse.

Such an approach has been taken by several political scientists (see Bara, 2006). Therefore, election programmes for the 2011 and 2014 parliamentary elections in Slovenia and for the parliamentary elections in 2010 and 2013 in the Czech Republic will be analysed.

Slovenia and the Czech Republic have many similarities, especially in terms of the development of democracy (see Nations in Transit, Bertelsmann Transformation Index) and their party systems (see, for example, Lewis and Mansfeldova, eds., 2006; Haughton and Deegan Krause, 2015), but differences can also be detected. In terms of cleavages, it is obvious that all the traditional cleavages revealed by Lipset and Rokkan (1967)<sup>5</sup> can be seen in the analysed countries, albeit in Slovenia more of these cleavages have been relevant for inter-party competition than in the Czech Republic (see Krašovec and Cabada, 2013). However, in both countries the communism–anticommunism cleavage has been similarly persistent and important, while there has been difference regarding the importance of the socio-economic cleavage (Krašovec and Cabada, 2013). In the 1990s, Slovenia opted for a specific economic transition in the context of other Central and Eastern European countries (i.e. gradualism), when the population's clear expectations (Bernik and Malnar, 2005) that the welfare state should be preserved led all parliamentary parties to advocate similar social-democratic socio-economic policies (Stanojević and Krašovec, 2011; Fink-Hafner, 2012), and only with the 2004 elections did the saliency of the cleavage become more evident. In the Czech Republic, this cleavage was already more prominent at the start of the 1990s because some parties were more inclined to introduce neoliberal economic policies. Given this difference, one might expect the Czech Republic to be affected earlier by the consequences of globalisation and neoliberalism, including precarity, but the prominence of the issue has increased, especially during the economic and financial crisis that hit both countries. Slovenia was heavily affected by both the crisis (see Tables 1 and 2) and international actors' 'recommendations'

4 Given the quite high instability of party systems in both analysed countries in recent years and especially the more general trend of the personalisation of politics and campaigns seen particularly in some newly established parties whose success or failure strongly depends on the qualities of the leader (Tomšič and Prijon, 2015), some might ask whether election programmes are indeed worth analysing. However, Karvonen (2010) and Kriesi (2011) revealed that the personalisation thesis has been overstated although, on the other hand, also the scope of different kinds of programme analyses shows that this research approach continues to be relevant in political science.

5 Although there have been several waves of broad discussions about the cleavages defined by Lipset and Rokkan in the mid 1960s, it seems these cleavages have been highly adaptable and give little room for additional categories (Deegan Krause, 2007, 543) or as Mair (2006, 374) exposed, have tended to persist.



**Table 1: Selected economic indicators for Slovenia (Sources: Ministry of Finance, 2013, 2014; Slovenian Economic Mirror, 2013, 2014; Statistical Office of Slovenia, 2015a; 2015b).**

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
<b>Growth of GDP (in %)</b>	3.3	-7.8	1.2	0.6	-2.6	-1.0	2.6
<b>Public debt (in % of GDP)</b>	21.6	34.5	38.2	46.5	53.7	70.3	80.9
<b>Budget deficit</b>	1.9	-6.1	-5.7	-6.2	-3.7	-14.6*	-4.5
<b>% unemployed</b>	6.7	9.1	10.7	11.8	12.0	13.1	13.1
<b>% unemployed (ILO)</b>	4.4	5.9	7.3	8.2	8.9	10.1	9.7
<b>Level of risk of poverty</b>	12.3	11.3	12.7	13.6	13.5	14.5	14.5

\* The increase was due to a one-off expenditure – the recapitalisation of five banks.

**Table 2: Selected economic indicators for the Czech Republic (Sources: Ministry of Finance of Czech Republic, 2015; Czech Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 2015; Eurostat, 2013; ILO, 2015; OECD, 2015).**

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
<b>Growth of GDP (in %)</b>	3.1	-4.5	2.5	1.9	-1.7	-0.9	2.0
<b>Public debt (in % of GDP)</b>	27.1	34.21	38.37	41.41	46.15	46.04	39
<b>Budget deficit</b>	-0.5	-5.8	-4.7	-3.2	-4.2	-1.5	-2.0
<b>% unemployed</b>	4.4	6.7	7.3	6.7	7.2	6.7	6.1
<b>% unemployed (ILO)</b>	5.4	8.1	7.1	6.7	7.0	6.9	6.4
<b>Level of risk of poverty</b>	8.6	9.0	9.8	9.6	9.6	8.5	9.0

about how to respond to the crisis, frequently including the introduction of greater flexibility to the labour market. Although the Czech Republic has sometimes been mentioned as a country unaffected by the crisis, this was true only in the first stage; by the end of 2009, the impact of the economic crisis was also evident in the Czech Republic (Veverková, 2012).

### Party Characteristics

In line with the specified party factors above, the new/challenger and mainstream parliamentary parties are presented in Table 3.

Before the 2011 elections, SD, Zares, DeSUS and LDS could be regarded as the governmental parties in Slovenia, although at the end of the term only SD and LDS remained in the governmental coalition. In the Czech Republic, the government in the 2010–2013 period was composed of ODS, TOP09 and VV but, after the internal split of the latter, with Liberal Democracy (LIDEM), the pragmatic pro-governmental faction that had left the VV.

In Slovenia, the Ministry of Labour in the 2008–2014 period was run, for the most part, by *de facto* the social-democratic SD, and in the Czech Republic by 'neo-liberal' parties – in the period 2006–2009 by the Civic Democrats and after the period of the caretaker government by the TOP09 party.

Despite major changes in the government coalition in 2013 in Slovenia, the governmental parties before the elections will be defined as those parties that participated in government from 2013 to the 2014 parliamentary elections: PS, SD, DeSUS and DL. In the Czech Republic, the governmental parties prior to the 2013 elections were ČSSD, ANO 2011 and KDU-ČSL.

Although several instruments can be used to determine the ideological position of parties, we believe that a reliable and comparative way indicating party ideology is to use their (former) affiliation or membership of party families at the European level.

The Slovenian PS only requested full membership of the liberal grouping in 2014 and later withdrew its request, but it will be treated as a liberal party because at one point it clearly showed an interest in becoming an

**Table 3: New/challenger and mainstream parliamentary parties in Slovenia and the Czech Republic.**

2011	2010	2014	2013
Slovenia	Czech Republic	Slovenia	Czech Republic
mainstream parties	mainstream parties	mainstream parties	mainstream parties
Social Democrats (SD)	Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD)	Social Democrats (SD)	Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD)
Slovenian Democratic Party (SDS)	Civic Democratic Party (ODS)	Slovenian Democratic Party (SDS)	Civic Democratic Party (ODS)
Liberal Democracy of Slovenia (LDS)	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM)	Slovenian People's Party (SLS)	TOP09
Zares (For Real)	The Greens	Democratic Party of Retired Persons of Slovenia (DeSUS)	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM)
Slovenian People's Party (SLS)		New Slovenia (NSi)	Christian-Democratic Party (KDU-ČSL)**
Slovenian National Party (SNS)		List of Zoran Janković – Positive Slovenia (PS)	
Democratic Party of Retired Persons of Slovenia (DeSUS)		Citizens' List of Gregor Virant (DL)	
New Slovenia (NSi)*			
new/challenger parties	new/challenger parties	new/challenger parties	new/challenger parties
List of Zoran Janković – Positive Slovenia (PS)	TOP09	Party of Miro Cerar, later renamed Party of Modern Centre (SMC)	Dawn of Direct Democracy (Úsvit)
Citizens' List of Gregor Virant (DL)	Public Affairs (VV)	United Left coalition (ZL)	ANO 2011
		Alliance of Alenka Bratušek (ZaAB)	

\* NSi again managed to pass the parliamentary threshold; it did not pass it in 2008.

\*\* KDU-ČSL again managed to pass the parliamentary threshold; it did not pass it in 2010.

**Table 4: Party families at the EU level – Slovenia and the Czech Republic.**

	Slovenia	Czech Republic
Conservative	SDS, NSi, SLS	TOP09, ODS, <sup>1</sup> KDU-ČSL
Liberal	SMC, LDS, Zares, DL, ZaAB	ANO 2011
Social Democratic	SD	ČSSD
Radical Left		KSČM

ALDE member. Although the ZL coalition has not been a member of any EU grouping, the fact that it took part under the banner of the European Left during the European Parliamentary elections in 2014 (Krašovec and Deželan, 2014) may indicate its sympathies. DeSUS and SNS, as well as Úsvit in the Czech Republic, have not been members of any EU grouping.

### Election Programmes

In an ideal world, election programmes would be a rich source of information on issues and parties' positions on specific topics. But there have been bigger differences among parties and their programmes since some produced long and comprehensive election programmes, some prepared short programmes,<sup>6</sup> while others did not even prepare special election programmes, using their 'normal' party programmes instead. Although this can pose some methodological reservations, in such cases we decided to include these 'normal' party programmes in our analysis.

To analyse the programmes, we employed the approach of a qualitative traditional content-analysis of the whole programmes. In recent years, computer-assisted text analysis has been widely used to scrutinise programmes (Harrison, 2013), including in Slovenia and the Czech Republic (e.g., Eibl, 2010; Chytilék and Eibl, 2011; Kustec Lipicer et al., 2011; Kropivnik, 2013; Krašovec and Deželan, 2015; Uršič et al., 2015; Maksuti et al., 2016; Naxera, 2015). However, Harrison (2013) believes that parties' attitudes to issues can be revealed and understood by employing traditional content-analysis and that such analysis can also help the researcher understand the substance of the text in a bigger part as well as define the content-related similarities/differences among parties (Slovenian and Czech researchers have also used such traditional content-analysis recently, e.g. Mansfeldová, 2003; Procházková and Hloušek, 2013; Krašovec and Deželan, 2014).

As shown by the analysis, Slovenian and Czech parties did not assess the issue of precarious work as a very relevant issue; the term was hardly used in the election programmes. Although some parties mentioned it, none of them dealt with the issue to any great extent.

### Slovenia

Among the Slovenian parties, only SD and ZL coalition addressed the issue of precarious work directly in their election programmes for the 2014 elections. While SD mentioned the issue in one sentence (*"higher social security will be guaranteed for precarious workers"*) (SD programme, 2014, 4), ZL coalition referred to the issue a few times. First, when ZL presented itself as a *"party*

*that stands with working people"*, it directly mentioned precarious workers (ZL coalition programme, 2014, 2). Later, it argued that *"all forms of work should be associated with workers' basic and social rights"* (ZL coalition programme, 2014, 10). In light of the position held by the issue in the election programmes, it is clear that both parties saw the issue as an economic and labour market problem.

Given that the consequences of the crisis largely emerged in Slovenia after 2011, it is not surprising that the issue of precarious work was even less prominent in 2011. It was mentioned by only one party indirectly: SD addressed the issue under the section 'Decent Work for All', promising to *"reduce inequality in the labour market between those employed for indefinite periods and those employed in other forms of employment"* (SD programme, 2011, 10).

However, in many election programmes it was possible to detect the 'substance of the issue', albeit different terms were used to describe (problems related with) the issue of precarious work. The phrases 'flexibilisation of the labour market' and 'segmentation of the labour market' were most common. This is not surprising because the substance of globalisation and the neoliberal model in relation to the labour market is usually expressed in terms of 'flexibilisation of the labour market', 'non-fully-fledged working contracts' and 'erosion of employees' rights', together with the division of workers into those who have managed to keep workers' and social rights and those without them (Keller, 2011). These results are somewhat expected because calls to introduce greater flexibility in the labour market have often been made in Slovenia by employers' organisations and some international organisations (e.g. the OECD). According to OECD data (in Lušina and Brezigar Masten, 2011), Slovenia and the Czech Republic had an almost identical level of strictness of employment protection for regular employment at the start of the crisis, while a huge difference was reported between the two countries when temporary employment was investigated (Slovenia exhibited an above-average level of strictness and the Czech Republic a significantly lower level). In this situation, one might anticipate such calls in Slovenia.

The term 'flexibilisation of the labour market' was frequently used and not hard to detect in most election programmes of Slovenian parties examined in the article. However, it was sometimes hard to determine whether the parties were calling for the introduction of greater flexibility, for the broadening of flexibility to cover more of the population or for the introduction of greater security for all employees (e.g. to reduce the flexibility of the labour market). We selected some examples to illustrate how parties dealt with or adapted to the outcomes of globalisation and the global predominance of neoliberal economic policies.

<sup>6</sup> Especially parties established just some months or even weeks prior to elections prepared short election programmes and/or programmes without clear stances on (some) issues.



While in 2014 SD called for less segmentation of the labour market, particularly relative to the regulation of students' work, ZL coalition heavily criticised neoliberal policies and the reduction of workers' rights and cuts to salaries. It also espoused the need to stop the privatisation processes. ZL called for the *"abolition of segmentation in the labour market and for an active policy of employment that can guarantee workers safe passage between jobs"*; as ZL stressed, *"in a time of crisis, when some economic sectors have been literally vanishing, an immediate return to full employment with an indefinite time of employment cannot be promised"* (ZL coalition programme, 2014, 10).

Two liberal parties (SMC, DL) addressed the issue but somewhat differently than the social-democratic and radical left parties. SMC referred to the need to stimulate 'flexicurity', with *"the aim of assuring easier entrance to and exit from the labour market and ensuring a predictable working environment for workers"* (SMC programme, 2014, 8). The party also emphasised *"the need to increase the inspector's control over abuses of the labour code and need for such control to be stricter"* (SMC programme, 2014, 8). On the other hand, DL clearly called for the withdrawal of the state from the economy. The call to *"simplify and reduce the number of legal forms of employment, with the aim of increasing solidarity among workers in different forms of employment"* (DL programme, 2014, 4) can in this case be interpreted as a way for the party to call for even greater flexibility in the labour market. The party (DL programme, 2014, 6) announced *"the need to reform the labour code to make the Slovenian economy competitive and productive"*. The party stated the same reform should also make the abuse of workers and their rights impossible, along with other anomalies. Promises were made by the party to ensure the same taxation of all legal forms of employment and to form a special fund for temporarily unemployed people that would ensure greater flexibility alongside stronger protection of employees, while again stressing its promise to make the labour market more flexible (DL programme, 2014, 8, 9). Two other liberal parties (PS programme, 2014 and ZaAB programme, 2014) did not address the problems of labour market flexibility, segmentation of the labour market etc., in their election programmes.

Like DL, the three conservative parties with a neo-liberal economic policy orientation stressed the need for greater labour market flexibility and other more neo-liberal policies in their 2014 election programmes. Yet some differences can be identified; the biggest of these parties, SDS, espoused such an ideological orientation to a smaller extent than NSi and SLS did. The party promised to proceed with labour market reforms to reduce the administrative and financial burden on employers, alongside adequate security insurance for employees in case they became unemployed. It announced *"the introduction of a transparent – in terms of expenses – com-*

*parative and stimulative system for different forms of employment"* (SDS programme, 2014, 9). SLS promised *"a labour code that would ensure flexibility in employment, while people would be dismissed only on the basis of objective reasons, while temporary employment would be abolished"* (SLS programme, 2014, 3). The party also called *"for measures that would ensure greater flexibility in the labour market"* and *"that regular employment would become more attractive and that would stimulate the creation of jobs with higher added value"* (SLS programme, 2014, 6, 8). Many observers described the electoral programme of NSi as the best economic programme of the 2014 elections, but also as a typical neo-liberal economic programme (Kořak, 2014) with regard to labour market reforms. NSi announced *"the introduction of a simple procedure for the standard termination of employment contracts without reason and without a period of notice"*. This could *"only happen, however, if the employer gave compensation to the employee of the same amount as that given in cases of termination of employment contracts due to business reasons"* (NSi programme, 2014, 109). The party noted the need to make the labour market less rigid, with a pledge to do this in negotiations with the social partners within the social dialogue framework (NSi programme, 2014, 118).

Unsurprisingly, given the financial woes facing Slovenia, questions about how to deal with the country's economic difficulties figured prominently in the 2011 parliamentary elections; some parties (e.g. SDS and DL) in public debates put forward a mostly market-driven vision of how to cope with the economic challenges facing the country (Haughton and Krařovec, 2013). However, calls to introduce (some) neo-liberal economic policies seemed to be less visible in the election programmes of the parties. NSi supported reforms of the labour code to ensure the principle of flexicurity to a greater extent, and saw employment for indefinite terms in particular as the basis of a solid and healthy economy (NSi programme, 2011, 7). SDS (SDS programme, 2011, 19) also declared the *"need to reform the code in terms of the introduction of greater flexibility and equalisation of different forms of employment"*. Still, the party stated it would encourage measures for employment for indefinite periods. The liberal Zares party promised *"to strive for greater flexibility in employment relations, along with guarantees of adequate security for employees"* (Zares programme, 2011, 4). Somewhat surprisingly, almost the same formulation was found in the SNS programme. DeSUS promised *"to respect strictly the implementation of the labour code"* (DeSUS programme, 2011, 13). SDS (SDS programme, 2011, 57) promised to *"reform the labour code to reduce the differences among workers' rights arising from the different forms of employment"*. Despite some resemblance between the two party programmes, it is obvious from other programme segments that the ideological positions of these two parties are different. While SD wanted to introduce a more social-

democratic response to the crisis, SDS clearly favoured economic policies that were more neoliberal. DL did not specifically address the problem of labour market reforms but often showed itself as one of the main advocates of more neoliberal economic policies (Haughton and Krašovec, 2013).

### Czech Republic

The only relevant political actor in the Czech Republic to use the term 'precarity' in its document was the Young Social Democrats, whose preface to its elections programme stressed the negative influence of the globalisation of financial capital since the 1980s and the subsequent 'push of the welfare state onto the defensive'. The Young Social Democrats also criticised neoliberals who use the term freedom in its crude, absolute sense. They argued that the social climate in Europe had become more extreme during the bank, financial and economic crisis, especially

*towards persons in a difficult situation, i.e. the so-called precariat, which is pushed to the societal periphery. We consider the basic responsibility of the youth association to be the protection of the interests of precariat, i.e. the specific class of persons that produces work and receives a wage for it, but on the basis of continually worsening conditions (Přemýšlíme, vnímáme, bojujeme, chceme spravedlivý stát, non dated).*

With all due respect to the Young Social Democrats, in terms of government policies the programme of its umbrella organisation was more important, i.e. the Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD). In the party election programme for the elections in 2010, the use of the term 'common people' in particular is interesting – respecting the discourse established by the party chairperson; it might at least in some connotations and meanings be understood as a synonym for the term precariat.

In the programme for the early elections in 2013, in the chapter 'Economics' (ČSSD programme, 2013, 14), ČSSD defined unemployment as the most oppressive problem of the present day. The state is presented as the most important actor in minimising long-term unemployment. In comparison with the election programme for the 2010 elections, the programme is much shorter; moreover, the above-mentioned programme points that might be related to the issue of precarity are only presented as a goal, without any clear implementation strategy.

ODS presented itself as liberal-conservative but a 'social-conservative' faction may also be discerned within the party, led by Nečas. Since he became the party leader shortly before the 2010 elections and later became the prime minister, we might expect some differences between the programmes for the 2010 elections and the

early elections in 2013. For the 2010 elections, ODS' programme accentuated unemployment as an important problem but rejected the view that the state had to be the most important actor in the process of creating new job opportunities.

*The key to growing employment is the motivation for employers to create and maintain workplaces. A more flexible labour market is necessary, as well as a motivating social system preferring active behaviour and penalising passivity in the search for work (ODS programme, 2010, 7).*

For the 2013 early elections, ODS presented a new election programme and claimed that there were no left-oriented or right-oriented themes, only left-oriented solutions or correct solutions. For the purposes of our analysis, the chapter entitled 'Labour Market' seems important. ODS declared that

*it is not the state's goal to create workplaces. Nevertheless, the state should not restrict the creation of new job opportunities and should support it with every tool. We believe that the labour market has to be flexible, allowing firms to react easily to new opportunities, but also during periods of lower growth opportunities (ODS programme, 2013, 11).*

We will now focus on documents presented by new/challenger and small parties. We include in the analysis only those that became parliamentary parties after the elections in 2010 or 2013, but we have added the Green Party, which was present in parliament in 2006–2010.

The liberal-conservative TOP09 was a member of the Nečas government, where it played the role of a reformist, neoliberal actor. The party members, especially Finance Minister Kalousek, became a symbol of the 'neoliberal reform' of the government. In the programme for the 2010 elections, the party stressed the role of the family, mutual responsibility and intergenerational solidarity. The issue of creating better opportunities for graduates in the labour market is also mentioned: "We see legislation for greater flexibility of the labour market as an indispensable precondition in the fight against unemployment" (TOP09 programme. 2010, 17).

For the early elections in 2013, TOP09 presented a new document. Regarding the theme of our analysis, the TOP09 party touched on the correlation between education and the social status of youngsters in quite a comprehensive way. The programme stressed the need to support apprentice education and cooperation with firms: "The lack of qualified technical craftsmen considerably affects the production" (TOP09 programme, 2013). Nevertheless, we could not find any further comment on the questions related to the topic of our analysis elsewhere in the programme.

In 2010, the radical-leftist KSČM promised to “*create new job opportunities in the public services, such as assistants for seniors and disabled persons, assistants for teachers at grammar schools, care for public/open areas etc.*” (KSČM programme, 2010, 2). Similarly, in its programme for the 2013 elections the party set out very general comments without any clear details of how to implement them.

In 2010, the new VV party presented a programme with a clear neoliberal background. “*The state is not and cannot be the creator of economic growth, but can provide an adequate institutional environment for it*” (VV programme, 2010, 6). It also called for a more flexible labour market; one important item mentioned was the possibility of repeating the agreement on definite work periods for employees (VV programme, 2010, 8). The party also supported the implementation of tuition fees at universities (VV programme, 2010, 23). The VV failed to cross the threshold at the 2013 elections.

By contrast, after having been a non-parliamentary party for one legislative period, the KDU-ČSL returned to parliament and into government after the 2013 elections. In the foreword to its election programme, written by the party chairperson, we can see ideas concerning the topic of our analysis. For employment growth, the party promised to support domestic industry and firms, as well as technical education and cooperation between firms and schools so “*that our schools system does not produce future unemployed*” (KDU-ČSL programme, 2013, 2). The partnership between firms and schools was to be strengthened by tax concessions; the aim was to ensure higher employment among graduates (KDU-ČSL programme, 2013, 5).

At the 2013 early elections, two new parties entered parliament: the radical/extremist Dawn of Direct Democracy and the populist Yes: it will be better or Yes 2011 party (ANO 2011), led by the businessperson and media-magnate Babiš. ANO 2011 became the party in government.

We will first present the short election programme of Dawn. In the ‘Education, Science and Research’ section, Dawn accentuates cooperation between the school system and the national economy within the technical schools but also argued that universities should be financed based on the employment of their graduates.

For the 2013 elections, the ANO 2011 party presented only a very brief programme and just a few sentences referred to the issues of interest to us. In the chapter ‘Industry and Business’, support for technical education in high schools and universities and cooperation with firms within technical education is mentioned, as well as graduate unemployment as the biggest problem. Since Babiš is the most important Czech businessperson in the agricultural sector, we cannot neglect the chapter ‘Agriculture’; the programme promised to create 40,000 new jobs in the agricultural sector and 80,000 in related sectors (ANO 2011 programme, 2013).

In its 2010 election programme, the Green Party stressed that many problems cannot be solved by standard economic tools and argued for a change in thinking towards new green technologies and development of research in the hi-tech sphere (Green Party programme, 2010, 24). It also promised to create such new workplaces. Economic policies, the party argued, should also incorporate excluded social groups (Green Party programme, 2010, 14). An important part of the programme, ‘Education as the Key to the World’ discusses the importance of education for global citizenship alongside other tools, as well as to open up opportunities to work abroad.

### Precarious Work and the Education System

Although the issue of precarious work has not been directly addressed in the education system and policies (which is of special interest in the journal), this does not mean it is completely absent. Both countries analysed have been under strong pressure to conduct structural reforms with the aim of being successful economies in the long term and to deal with the crisis in the short term. Among sectors that need to be reformed, the education system, especially the tertiary system, has frequently been identified by domestic and international actors. The most common ‘recommendations’ included several calls to introduce greater flexibility, and even the (partial) privatisation of some public services, including the education system. Therefore, in the next section, we will briefly present the parties’ main ideas regarding the education system.

During the crisis in Slovenia, it was almost the norm for parties to address the problem of debt and the public deficit alongside calls to undertake reforms in the public sector. Conservative, but also liberal parties, called almost unreservedly for the introduction of the neoliberal concept of the ‘slim state’. Parties with a social-democratic or social-liberal orientation found themselves in a vice between the need for some reforms due to the bad macroeconomic situation and their traditional stance regarding the welfare state, which the majority of the Slovenian population still considered worth fighting for (Kolarič, 2012).

In 2011 and 2014, almost all parties used the term ‘quality of education and of the education system’. While some parties simply advocated quality of the system, others stressed the need to chiefly ensure the quality of public schools or a strict separation between public and private schools (SD, DeSUS, ZaAB, PS). SD, for example, issued “*warnings about granting concessions to private schools since assuring continuity of quality in the public school system is an important achievement of the welfare state*” (SD programme, 2011, 6). DeSUS expressed its “*resistance to granting concessions to private universities for the study programmes already implemented by the state universities*” (DeSUS programme,



2011, 16). In contrast, in 2011, NSi was convinced that *"establishing a line of separation between public and private schools is not appropriate if both pursue modernisation and quality, as well as modern university management models"* (NSi programme, 2011, 24).

Reforms of the education system and policy were even more salient in the 2014 election programmes than in 2011. The liberal DL (DL programme, 2014, 22) argued for *"the modernisation of standards and norms"*, as well as *"the need to adjust them to the capacities"*; the party stressed *"the need for expenditure efficiency"* by the universities as well. *"Relations between public and private schools will be solved by employing the criteria of quality, while greater choice and flexibility will help to improve quality"* (DL programme, 2014, 22). SDS announced an *"increase in working norms, issued a call for more flexible forms of employment in the education system"* and suggested that *"teachers could be taken out of the system of public employees"* (SDS programme, 2014, 13). Although it was interesting to see that SDS was inclined to stimulate entrepreneurship at all levels of education and training, this was no surprise given the party's increasing support for neoliberal economic policies. Some could even say that by introducing market principles into the education system, which SLS (SLS programme, 2014, 19) did by announcing a voucher system to finance universities, the party was introducing equality between public and private universities. The idea rested on the assumption that students would take their vouchers and bring them to their chosen university, which would then receive money from the budget according to the number of vouchers collected. SLS saw this system as *"a guaranteed way of making expenditure in the system more transparent and just"* (SLS programme, 2014, 19). The winner of the elections, the SMC (SMC programme, 2014, 5), clearly opted for the *"demarkation of public and private universities"*. PS sought to reduce funding for private universities from 85% to 75% and the need to ensure the quality development of the top public universities (PS programme, 2014, 16). ZL made an urgent call to *"stop robbery and expropriation of the key social institutions, among them the public education system"* (ZL coalition programme, 2014, 14). In relation to one of the more important themes of the 2014 elections, namely, privatisation (Krašovec and Haughton, 2014), it argued that the privatisation of public services, among them the public education system, had to be stopped.

Most parties also accepted the need to reform the education system in light of the needs of the economy, although these ideas were more prominent in the programmes of the conservative parties.

With regard to the Czech parties, we can observe

this approach in practically all of them. For the most part, however, the idea is very general and stresses the secondary school system.<sup>7</sup> Basically, the left-oriented parties (and, in 2013, TOP09 and Dawn) emphasised the importance of apprenticeships, including the need to strengthen the position of workers in society, including their incomes.

The right-wing parties, but also the Greens, reflected the theme of the quality of education – but above all research work – in universities.

Unlike in the Slovenia, the separation between public and private universities was not included in election programmes. The first reason for this is that the state budget is allocated only to public universities, therefore private universities do not influence the financial position of public universities.

A popular term among Czech parties was the 'knowledge economy', used by ODS and TOP09, or the term 'economy 4.0', often mentioned by ČSSD. Both terms are related to the creation of an innovative economy based on research in selected spheres, such as nanotechnology, cybernetics etc.

Based on these presentations, one can see in the Czech Republic a clear dividing line between the parties in terms of ideology: the conservative (and to some extent the liberal) parties more strongly emphasised the need to introduce different aspects of neoliberal economic policies, as well as the idea of ensuring greater flexibility into the education labour market than did the other parties.

## CONCLUSION

This article dealt with the impact on political parties of the global economic and financial crisis that hit Europe in 2008. Given that parties operate in different environments and that in competitive democracies political parties should adapt to changes in their environments, including the public's preferences (expressed in particular through the concept of dynamic representation), we expected this to have happened in Slovenia and in the Czech Republic.

Our analysis focused on how parties adapted, if at all, to one issue not originating in the crisis but heavily intensified during it, namely, precarious work. On the basis of a literature review, we expected that especially new/challenger parties, coming from the left or centre-left, would accommodate the issue and deal with the topic in their election programmes. Analysis of the parties' election programmes revealed that the issue of precarious work was almost completely absent from the election programmes. However, in Slovenia, the ZL coalition, a left-oriented challenger, briefly referred to the

<sup>7</sup> A frequent practice at grammar and secondary schools, where teachers are often employed for only 10 months and not during the summer holidays (July and August), combines the issues of education and precarity. This practice has also been seen in Slovenia and is strongly criticised in both countries. In the Czech Republic, the Chamber of Deputies started a debate in September 2015 on an amendment that would forbid the practice. In December 2015, the such practice was finally prohibited by law.

topic a few times in the 2014 elections. In addition, SD, an established centre-left party (and one of the governing parties at the 2014 elections) that has 'ownership' of welfare issues and equality and the protection of workers' rights, mentioned the issue once in its programme. In the Czech Republic, no parties mentioned the issue at all.

Since Slovenia and the Czech Republic are strongly dependent on the world economy, it is no surprise that the issue was more frequently addressed indirectly in the parties' election programmes. Globalisation, the prevalence of neoliberal policies, and calls to adapt to them led parties to strongly espouse the need for greater 'flexibilisation of the labour market' which, as we can see, is directly connected with the problems of precarious work.

Calls to introduce some private-sector principles into the public sector's activities were significantly expressed during the crisis in both countries and the public education system clearly could not remain completely isolated from such ideas.

We can conclude that the problem of precarious work, despite its increasing saliency, was not important enough for the parties and inter-party electoral competition to address it more vigorously in their election pro-

grammes. It is also possible to say that parties did not follow voters' preferences to any great extent. Instead, parties adapted to a greater extent to challenges from the international environment (globalisation and the prevalence of neoliberalism), since in virtually all the election programmes the flexibility of the labour market was mentioned. Here, at least, it is possible to detect a difference among parties regarding party ideology; while liberal and conservative parties as a rule argued for the need to introduce greater flexibility and private-sector principles into the public sector, social-democratic parties were more reserved.

Following Bardi et al. (2014), it seems that during the crisis parties decided to espouse responsibility (for considering the long-term needs of their people that go beyond the short-term preferences of those same people) and at the same time were able to adjust and react to the policies of international organisations, such as the European Union, the IMF, the OECD and the World Bank, which impose constraints on domestic policies to a bigger extent than responsiveness does. This also means that Ezrow and Hellwig's (2014) expectation that parties' responsiveness to voter/public preferences will be less pronounced in countries that depend heavily on the global economy was met in the countries analysed.

## PRILAGODLJIVOST POLITIČNIH STRANK EKONOMSKI IN FINANČNI KRIZI? NEKATERE UGOTOVITVE IZ SLOVENIJE IN ČEŠKE REPUBLIKE

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### POVZETEK

Članek preučuje prilagodljivost slovenskih in čeških strank ekonomski in finančni krizi, ki je Evropo prizadela leta 2008. Upošteva ugotovitve mnogih politologov, pričakujeva, da so se tudi analizirane stranke prilagodile pričakovanjem volivcev oziroma javnosti in so v svojih volilnih programih (ne)posredno izpostavile problematiko naraščajočega prekarnega dela. Analiza je razkrila, da so stranke v tem pogledu v zelo majhni meri sledile pričakovanjem volivcev oziroma javnosti in so se na ta izziv v volilnih programih odzvale le posredno. Vendar pa so se stranke v bistveno večji meri prilagodile izzivom iz mednarodnega okolja, saj so dejansko vse v svojih volilnih programih ome-nile problematiko fleksibilnosti trga delovne sile. V tem pogledu je, pričakovano, moč identificirati pomen ideologije strank, saj so liberalne in konzervativne stranke praviloma izpostavile večjo potrebo po uvedbi večje fleksibilnosti trga delovne sile.

**Ključne besede:** politična stranka, kriza, Slovenija, Češka republika, prilagodljivost



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TRAJNOSTNI VZORCI NAVAD PREBIVALCEV SLOVENSКИH SOSESK –  
IZBRANI IZSLEDKI ŠTUDIJE NA PRIMERU NASELJA KOMEN

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## IZVLEČEK

*Prispevek obravnava področje trajnostne učinkovitosti in kakovosti slovenskih sosesk ter trajnostne ozaveščenosti njihovih prebivalcev. Empirična študija v slovenskih soseskah, ki jo deloma obravnavamo v tem članku, je bila izvedena kot empirični del raziskovalnega projekta o podpori odločanju pri urbani prenovi slovenskih naselij. Anketno poizvedovanje (n = 321) se nanaša na tipične vzorce vedenj, prepričanj in navad, ki so povezani z vsakodnevnimi aktivnostmi prebivalstva in zgoščeni okrog pojma bivanja v izbranih soseskah ter njihov vpliv na grajeno, naravno in družbeno okolje. V tem članku se osredotočamo na nekatera spoznanja, ki jih raziskava prinaša, in sicer s poudarkom zanimanja na prebivalstvu Komna. V analizi smo rezultate ob bok postavili rezultatom, pridobljenim v drugih pilotnih prostorskih enotah, kjer smo anketo izvajali, ter nadalje umestili v okvir obstoječega znanja na področju trajnostnega vedenja in njegovih vplivov na širši prostor bivanja.*

**Ključne besede:** soseska, trajnost, skupnost, trajnostno vedenje, trajnostna ozaveščenost

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## SINTESI

*Il contributo esamina il settore della qualità dei quartieri sloveni e della consapevolezza sostenibile dei suoi abitanti. Lo studio empirico nei quattro quartieri o località slovene che vengono in parte esaminate nel presente articolo, è stato realizzato come parte pilota di un progetto di ricerca sul sostegno al processo decisionale per il rinnovamento urbano dei centri abitati sloveni. L'indagine sondaggistica (n=321) si riferisce ai modelli tipi di comportamento, convinzioni e abitudini che sono legate alle attività quotidiane della popolazione e concentrate sul concetto di vivere nei quartieri selezionati, nonché il loro impatto sull'ambiente sociale e naturale. Nel presente articolo analizziamo alcune considerazioni che sono frutto dell'indagine soffermandoci con particolare interesse alla popolazione di Komen. Nell'analisi abbiamo affiancato i risultati ottenuti a quelli di altre unità territoriali pilota in cui era stato effettuato il sondaggio e li abbiamo inseriti nell'ambito delle conoscenze esistenti nel campo del comportamento sostenibile e del suo impatto in uno spazio di vita più ampio.*

**Parole chiave:** quartieri, sostenibilità, abitudini della popolazione, comportamento sostenibile, consapevolezza sostenibile

## UVOD

Grajeno okolje, njegova fizična podoba ter zajeti odsev družbeno-ekonomske in kulturne dimenzije so močni dejavniki pri določanju načinov njegove uporabe oziroma vedenjskih vzorcev prebivalstva. Obsežna literatura na področju povezanosti grajenega okolja in vedenja uporabnikov v veliki meri dokazuje njuno medsebojno soodvisnost. Značilnosti, ki izhajajo iz grajenega okolja – njegovo oblikovanje, urejenost, opremljenost, vzdrževanost, povezanost, širši geoprostorski kontekst ipd. – v veliki meri prispevajo k načinom uporabe (Corner, 2017) ter spodbujajo določene načine vedenja.

Trajnostni vzorci vedenja oziroma trajnostno vedenje (angl. *sustainable patterns in behaviour; sustainable behaviour*) je koncept, ki se je v raziskovalnem smislu močneje uveljavil po tem, ko je postalo jasno, da je večina izzivov v zvezi s trajnostnim razvojem v osnovi pravzaprav družbenega značaja, ne glede na dimenzijo razvoja, ki ga obravnava. Nanaša se predvsem na raziskovanje množičnega vedenja, prepričanj in navad, ki so povezani z vsakodnevnimi aktivnostmi prebivalstva oziroma gospodinjstev (Lilley, 2009). Gre za tipične vzorce vedenj, zgoščene okrog pojma bivanja ter njihovo spreminjanje, njihov vpliv na grajeno in naravno okolje, ter preučevanje vzrokov (angl. *drivers*) zanje.

Problematika vedenja določene skupnosti je izrazito kompleksna, saj gre za deljeno odgovornost in ravnanja (Niedderer et al., 2017), ki jih lahko preučujemo z vidika posameznika, ožjih skupnosti prebivalstva, lokalnih oblasti ali različnih iniciativ. Vsa vedenja do določene mere vedno odražajo tudi družbenoekonomski, regulativni ter geoprostorski kontekst, kar v enačbo vnaša številne spremenljivke, ki določajo ugodnejše ali manj ugodne zaključne računice za posameznika oziroma skupnost; slednje v dobri meri oblikujejo načine in stopnjo trajnostnega vedenja. Kollmuss & Agyeman (2002) sta vplivne dejavnike vedenja razdelila v tri skupine, in sicer demografske, notranje in zunanje. Demografski dejavniki se nanašajo na demografsko strukturo same populacije. Zunanji dejavniki združujejo vplive, povezane z geoprostorskim kontekstom, grajenim prostorom in infrastrukturo, vplivom družbenih norm in pravne regulative. Notranji dejavniki sestojijo iz vrste vplivov, ki se nanašajo na posameznikove potrebe in želje, lastno motivacijo, okoljsko ozaveščenost, stališča in prioritete vrednot. Pri tem številni avtorji (npr. Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002; Shove, 2014; Svetina et al., 2014; Byers & Gilmer, 2018) opozarjajo na pogosto prisoten razkorak med deklarativnim opredeljevanjem in dejanskim vedenjem posameznika ali skupnosti, kar z drugimi besedami pomeni, da se deklarativna ozaveščenost zaradi različnih razlogov pogosto ne odraža tudi v dejanjih (t. i. angl. »gap between knowing and doing«). Rajcecki (1982) je opredelil štiri vzroke oziroma pome- ne, ki oblikujejo te vrzeli, in sicer: normativni vzroki (pomen ustaljenih navad, tradicije in norm družbe); po-

men časovnih okoliščin (vedenja posameznikov so med drugim časovno opredeljena spremenljivka družbe, zato v posameznem časovnem preseku odražajo okoliščine danega časovnega obdobja); vzrok subjektivne presoje (subjektivno, pristransko vrednotenje lastnih dejanj in vedenja); pomen kratkoročnosti oziroma dolgoročnosti posledic dejanj (kratkoročni obrat odnosa dejanje–posledica pogosteje zaznamuje spremembe vedenjskih vzorcev, in obratno, odločitve posameznika, ki zgolj dolgoročno vplivajo na njegovo dobrobit, redkeje vodijo v povezane ustrezne spremembe vedenj).

V domala vseh pogledih so značilnosti grajenega okolja med pomembnejšimi vplivnimi dejavniki oziroma pomembno prispevajo k trajnostnim oziroma netrajnostnim odzivom uporabnikov ali njihovim spremembam (Williams & Dair, 2007; Shove, 2014). Pri tem bolj trajnostno bivalno okolje pomeni tisto okolje, ki spodbuja bolj trajnostne oblike vedenj, kot so načini potovanja, vzorci, povezani z oskrbovanjem in potrošnjo v gospodinjstvih, vzorci, povezani z rabo virov, odnos do naravnega in kulturnega okolja bivanja ter nenazadnje odnos do sosedске skupnosti in vključevanje v širši dos- eg njenih dejavnosti.

Trajnostno bivalno okolje naj bi dolgoročno prinašalo večjo kakovost bivanja za prebivalce in uporabnike. Vendar je znano tudi, da zaznavanje kakovosti bivanja s strani posameznikov ni nujno premo sorazmerno z dolgoročno blaginjo trajnostnih strategij (Corner, 2017). Na primer, za velik del populacije je vožnja z avtomobilom kljub finančnim vložkom privlačnejša od drugih načinov prevoza, saj ponuja največje udobje, fleksibilnost, sorazmerni časovni prihranek, zasebnost in nenazadnje tudi prilagodljivost pri izbiri cilja. Za doseganje bolj trajnostne mobilnosti, spoštovanja omejitev okolja ter bolj družbeno odgovornega ravnanja bi se večina morala odpovedati delu potovanja z avtom, kar pa z vidika kratkoročne logike in ustaljenih navad seveda pomeni žrtvovanje lastnih sredstev (udobja, časa, neodvisnosti ipd.). Podobna razhajanja se pogosto kažejo v primerih, ko se bolj trajnostna odločitev izkaže za kratkoročno dražjo oziroma bolj obremenjujočo za posameznikovo hipno dobrobit. Stopnja, do katere smo pripravljeni sprejemati drugačne navade, je relativna (El Din et al., 2013) in je poleg ozaveščenosti odvisna tudi od pogojev (demografskih, ekonomskih, življenjskih itd.) oziroma razmer, v katerih se posameznik nahaja.

Kljub dobri znanstveno-raziskovalni pokritosti tega problemskega področja – torej iskanja povezav med značilnostmi in kakovostjo ožjega prostora bivanja in vedenjem uporabnikov – pa so empirične študije, ki bi utemeljevale jasno povezanost, vrednotile stopnjo povezanosti ali skušale pojasniti vzroke povezanosti, še vedno razmeroma redke in težko prenosljive v družbeno-prostorski kontekst, drugačen od izhodiščnega. S problemom šibke prenosljivosti obstoječega znanja in rezultatov smo se soočili tudi v tekoči temeljni raziskavi (Verovšek et al., 2016), kjer razvijamo metode za sistem-

sko podporo odločanju pri urbani prenovi slovenskih naselij z vidika uravnoveženja energetske učinkovitosti in upravljanja lokalnih virov. Raziskava razvija sestav kazalcev in meril za vrednotenje trajnostne učinkovitosti na ravni slovenske soseske<sup>1</sup>, in sicer v smislu manj pogosto vrednotenih vidikov trajnosti, kot so organizacija grajenega okolja, dostopnost in vzdrževanost urbanih prostorov ter njihov neizključujoči značaj, stopnja angažiranosti prebivalcev, pripadnost k skupnosti ipd. Primerljivost parametrov se pri tem dosega s klasičnimi prijemi relativizacije kazalcev in normiranjem ocen glede na maksimalne vrednosti znotraj določene kategorije.

Raziskava, ki jo obravnavamo v tem prispevku, je bila deloma opravljena z namenom pridobivanja novih znanj za posamezna pilotna geoprostorska območja, deloma pa se nanaša na pretres možnosti pridobivanja ustreznih podatkov s strani prebivalcev v okviru podatkovnega modela omenjene temeljne raziskave.

## METODOLOGIJA

### Ozadje

Empirično raziskavo preverjanja trajnostne ozaveščenosti in vedenja prebivalcev slovenskih krajev smo pripravili kot anketno poizvedovanje v več slovenskih soseskah. Anketiranje je sledilo razvoju osnovnega modela vrednotenja s hierarhično povezanimi indikatorji in kriteriji, ki smo ga oblikovali v nizu znanstveno-strokovnih panelov. Anketo določajo trije glavni cilji, in sicer: 1) pridobiti nekatere manjkajoče podatke o učinkovitosti in trajnosti pilotnih sosesk oziroma naselij; 2) ugotoviti stopnjo odzivnosti prebivalcev sosesk, težave pri pridobivanju podatkov na tak način in pretres možnosti za sistemsko vključevanje tako pridobljenih podatkov v predhodno osnovani model vrednotenja; 3) pridobiti nekatera nova spoznanja v zvezi s predhodno postavljenimi hipotezami o trajnostni osveščenosti in vedenju prebivalcev sosesk, v odvisnosti od različnih tipov bivalnih okolij, geolokalnega konteksta ter demografskih značilnosti posamezne preučevane populacije.

V tem članku se osredotočamo zgolj na tretji cilj, to je obravnavo nekaterih novih spoznanj, ki jih prinaša anketna raziskava, in sicer s poudarkom zanimanja na prebivalstvu Komna. V analizi smo rezultate ob bok

postavili rezultatom, pridobljenim v drugih pilotnih prostorskih enotah, kjer smo anketo izvajali (Kranj Planina 1, Kamnik 1 in Kamnik 2). V vseh primerih drugih sosesk gre za mestne soseske, ki se po tipologiji gradnje, naseljitveni gostoti, stopnji pozidanosti (faktor zazidanosti, faktor izrabe, faktor odprtih bivalnih površin, faktor zelenih površin) ter splošni stopnji urbaniziranosti razmeroma močno razlikujejo od Komna. Zanimalo nas je, če obstajajo statistično pomembne razlike tudi v trajnostnem vedenju, nazorih in navadah prebivalcev teh sosesk.

### Obravnavane soseske

Izbira pilotnih sosesk je temeljila na štirih ključnih dejavnikih<sup>2</sup>, ki zagotavljajo večjo heterogenost obravnavanih oblik in s tem tudi večjo univerzalnost končnega instrumenta za evalvacijo sosesk v slovenskem prostoru (Verovšek *et al.*, 2016). Vse izbrane soseske so bile opredeljene na osnovi meja prostorskih okolišev<sup>3</sup> in z njihovim združevanjem. Zaradi omejitev pridobitve verjetnostnega vzorca in naslovov ter obstoječih podatkov s strani Statističnega urada Republike Slovenije (SURS) so vse soseske oblikovane kot skupek prostorskih okolišev, ki zajemajo vsaj 500 stalnih prebivalcev. V primeru Komna to pomeni meje celotnega naselja Komen, zato smo predhodno delitev na soseske naknadno združili v enotno skupino. Naselje Komen se sicer uvršča med manjša slovenska urbana naselja z nekaterimi pomembnimi centralnimi funkcijami; po modificirani klasifikaciji centralnih naselij (Benkovič Krašovec, 2006) se uvršča v kategorijo povprečno opremljenih naselij druge stopnje. V odnosu do močnejših središč v bližini (Sežana, Nova Gorica, Ajdovščina, Trzin, Trst) je trenutno prešibko in zato premalo privlačno središče, tako z vidika oskrbnih in storitvenih dejavnosti kot tudi z vidika zaposlitvenih možnosti (OPN Komen, 2018). Širše področje zaznamuje značilna kraška terasirana pokrajina (Berčič, 2016) z nizko gostoto prebivalcev ter negativnimi trendi v strukturi in številu prebivalcev, zato ga uvrščamo med demografsko ogrožena območja. Starostna struktura v občini je slaba; biološki indeks za leto 2017 znaša 138, slovensko povprečje je 118. Kljub nekoliko povečanemu zanimanju za nepremičnine in investicije v novogradnje in prenove v letih pred ekonomskim zlomom danes Komen ne izkazuje večjih preselitvenih ali odselitvenih to-

1 Na tem mestu jo opredeljujemo kot zaključeno funkcionalno poselitveno enoto osnovnih oskrbnih in storitvenih dejavnosti, ki lahko predstavlja del urbanega, suburbanega ali ruralnega naselja. Primerljivost se dosega s klasičnimi prijemi relativizacije kazalcev.

2 (1) stopnja urbaniziranosti soseske glede na urbano/ruralno poreklo naselja (mestna soseska, primestna soseska, vas kot soseska) – pomemben dejavnik izbire z vidika strukture in zgoščenosti soseske, komunalne opremljenosti in javnih storitev, centralnosti in prometnih tokov (gravitacije), demografske strukture; (2) starost soseske ali stopnja prenove soseske kot celote – starost/prenovljenost pretežnega dela stavbnega fonda in infrastrukture – pomemben dejavnik izbire z vidika obstoječe trajnostne učinkovitosti zaradi različnih normativov v času njihovega načrtovanja, gradnje oziroma prenove; (3) tip stavbnega fonda in zazidave soseske (enodružinske, večstanovanjske stavbe, skupni javni prostor) – pomemben dejavnik izbire z vidika lastniške strukture in upravljanja (skupinsko, individualno) ter z vidika deleža prostora v javnem upravljanju; (4) deklarirana trajnostna ali energetska učinkovitost soseske – relevantno zgolj za soseske, ki imajo kateregakoli od segmentov trajnostne učinkovitosti posebej deklariranega/promoviranega (primeri dobrih praks).

3 Prostorski okoliš je osnovna in najmanjša nedeljena prostorska enota, ki je ne sekajo meje preostalih prostorskih enot in ima opredeljeno pripadnost višjim prostorskim enotam. Z združevanjem prostorskih okolišev dobimo območja osnovnih in nekaterih dodatnih enot (SURS, 2018).



kov, niti ni beležena višja stopnja povpraševanja ali ponudbe na trgu nepremičnin<sup>4</sup>. Skladno s podatki SURS za leto 2015 je za Komen in okolico značilna individualna gradnja. Dobri dve tretjini vseh stalno naseljenih stavb v naselju predstavljajo enostanovanjske samostojno stojеče hiše (ostalo so samostojne kmetije s pripadajočimi gospodarskimi poslopji, vrstne hiše in večstanovanjsko gradnjo).

Ostale stanovanjske soseske, ki jih z referenčno-primerjalnim namenom obravnavamo znotraj tega prispevka, so močnejše urbanizirane in bolj gosto naseljene. Nahajajo se znotraj naselij Kamnika in Kranja. Stanovanjska soseska Planina I v Kranju je del stanovanjskega naselja Planina, ki predstavlja največje blokovsko naselje v celotni gorenjski regiji. V njej živi približno 16.000 stanovalcev (v delu Planina 1 dobrih 5000), kar je več kot četrtina vseh občanov in občanov. Začetek gradnje sega v prvo polovico 70. let prejšnjega stoletja, ko je bila soseska načrtovana kot samozadostna prostorska enota, namenjena predvsem delavskemu razredu okoliških industrijskih obratov (Prenova soseske Planina, 2016). Gre za močno zgoščene bivalne kapacitete (tipologija stanovanjskih blokov s povprečno sedmimi etažami) s pripadajočimi javnimi površinami in storitvenimi dejavnostmi. Izbrani soseski v Kamniku se nahajata v širšem središču mesta. Zajemata območje nižjih stanovanjskih blokov (4–5 etaž), z manjšim delom enostanovanjskih hiš in s pripadajočo infrastrukturo javnega prostora za namen skupnosti.

### Opis populacije, vzorčenja in izvedbe anketiranja

Ciljna populacija anketiranja so bili posamezniki, starejši od 15 let, s stalnim prebivališčem v izbranih soseskah oziroma naseljih. V primeru Komna torej vzorčni okvir predstavljajo vsi prebivalci tega naselja, starejši od 15 let. Vzorčenje je na podlagi registra prebivalstva opravili na SURS. Vlogo za pridobitev verjetnostnega stratificiranega vzorca in naslovov ciljne populacije je odobrila Komisija za varstvo podatkov. Pripravljeni vzorec je zajel 40 % naključnih enot ciljne populacije vsake soseske.<sup>5</sup>

Končni realizirani vzorec je zajel 321 veljavnih enot prebivalstva, starejšega od 15 let, s povprečno starostjo 48 let (v Komnu je bila povprečna starost anketiranca 43 let). V času sodelovanja je imelo 48 % respondentov pridobljeno srednješolsko izobrazbo, 15 % višješolsko, 22 % sodelujočih pa univerzitetno izobrazbo ali več. V zajeti populaciji Komna je bil delež prebivalstva s pridobljeno srednješolsko izobrazbo nekoliko nižji (43 %) na račun nekoliko večjega deleža populacije z univerzitetno izobrazbo ali več (25 %). Z vidika zaposlitvene strukture je prevladujoči delež sodelujočih v delovnem

razmerju (47 %), sledijo upokojeni (37 %) in šolajoči (10 %). V primeru Komna je na anketo odgovarjalo nekoliko več šolajoče populacije (16 %) in manj upokojenih (31 %). Anketiranci so bili po spolu medsebojno uravnoteženi, tako v celotni skupini kot v skupini Komna.

Demografsko-socialne značilnosti zajetega (realiziranega) vzorca kažejo razmeroma dobro uravnoteženost v primerjavi z vrednostmi ciljne populacije (podatki SURS, 2017). Med populacijo in realiziranim vzorcem glede zastopanosti spola, povprečne starosti anketiranca, tipa gospodinjstev in povprečne velikosti gospodinjstev ni statistično značilnih razlik pri običajni stopnji tveganja oziroma meji statistične značilnosti  $p < 0,05$  ( $\chi^2 = 4.8$ ,  $p = .19$ ;  $\chi^2 = 1.28$ ,  $p = .59$ ;  $\chi^2 = -1.06$ ,  $p = .11$ ). Večje odstopanje, tako v celotni skupini kot v skupini Komna, zasledimo pri starostni strukturi po skupinah (*Slika 1*) in izobrazbeni strukturi (*Slika 2*). V končni skupini anketirancev Komna smo zajeli nesorazmerno visok delež starejšega prebivalstva (skupine 54–65 let) in najmlajših prebivalcev (skupine do 20 let). V končni skupini sosesk Kranja in Kamnika smo zajeli nesorazmerno visok delež najstarejše skupine prebivalstva (upokojeno prebivalstvo). Gre za situacijo, ki pri splošno-populacijskem anketiranju kljub verjetnostnemu vzorčenju ni redka in nastane zaradi večje odzivnosti in pripravljenosti nekaterih starostnih skupin za sodelovanje pri anketiranju. Pogosto se razlaga z večjo razpoložljivostjo časa posameznih skupin dela populacije (Groves et al., 2000), pa tudi bolj angažiranim odnosom in odgovornostjo do prostovoljnega sodelovanja v raziskovalnih ali javnomnenjskih anketah pri nekaterih starostnih skupinah. Gre za sistemsko napako, ki je ni enostavno obiti, potrebno pa jo je upoštevati pri interpretaciji rezultatov. Slabšo reprezentativnost dosegamo tudi pri izobrazbeni strukturi; tako v primeru Komna kot drugih obravnavanih sosesk je izobrazbena struktura sodelujočih višja od strukture ciljne populacije. Olajševalna okoliščina v primeru naše obravnave je, da je enako nesorazmerje opaziti v vseh primerih obravnavanih sosesk, kar z vidika primerjalne analize med njimi ne prinaša razlik s tega naslova.

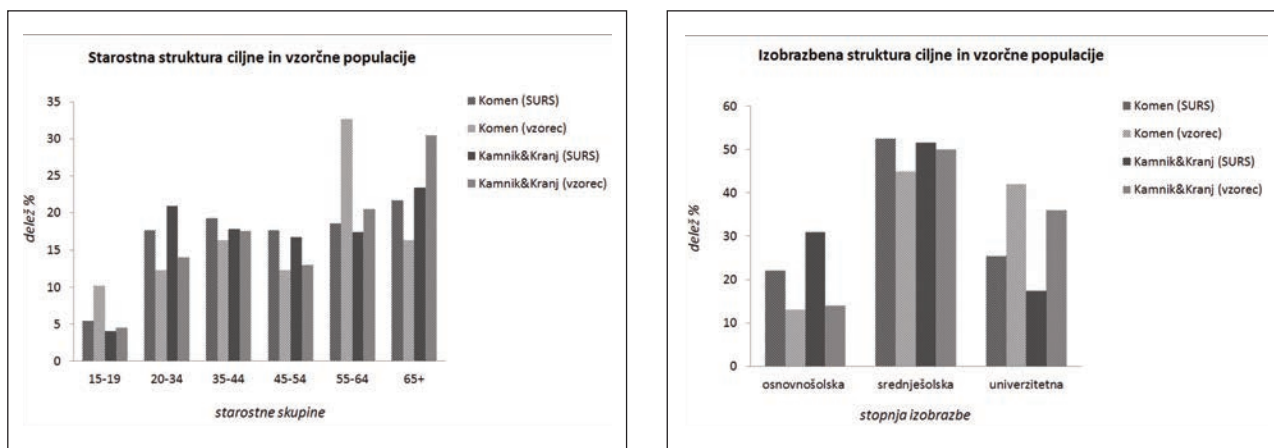
Anketno raziskavo smo izvedli na dva načina, tj. pošto (tiskani izvod)<sup>6</sup> in spletno (aplikacija Enka), pri čemer ohranjamo jasno ločnico, ki jo predstavlja faza kontaktiranja vzorčne populacije in faza zbiranja podatkov (Lyberg et al., 1997). Vzorčenje je bilo opravljeno zgolj na podlagi baze naslovnikov posamezne geografske enote (izbranih sosesk); na ta način smo pridobili kakovosten verjetnostni vzorec. Vsak poslani fizični izvod ankete je vseboval tudi povabilo k spletni oddaji odgovorov,<sup>7</sup> če so sodelujoči želeli anketo izpolniti na ta način.

4 Dnevnik, 14. 1. 2016: Na Krasu ni posebnega zanimanja za nepremičnine.

5 V Komnu (vse soseske) je vzorec zajel 241 enot, v kranjskih soseskah 1500 enot, v dveh kamniških soseskah skupaj 489 enot.

6 Respondenti so izpolnjene tiskane ankete lahko vrnili s priloženo kuverto (plačana poština in vpisan naslovnik).

7 Vsaka po pošti poslana anketa je vsebovala tudi QR-kodo in spletno povezavo do ankete.



**Slika 1 in 2: Primerjava ciljne in vzorčne populacije po starostni in izobrazbeni strukturi za soseske Komna in soseske Kamnika in Kranja (vir podatkov ciljne populacije: Statistični urad RS, 2017).**

### Vprašalnik in spremenljivke

Anketni vprašalnik je tematsko interdisciplinarne narave, oblikovali smo ga člani skupine projekta v skladu z dognanji niza panelnih srečanj. V vprašalniku, ki vsebuje 50 vprašanj v petih sklopih, obravnavamo doseganje ciljev trajnostne agende na različnih ravneh. Vprašanja smo ciljno zelo omejili, saj je preučevanje večjega števila spremenljivk v eni anketni študiji oteženo zaradi izvedbenih omejitev, kot so dolžina ankete, čas reševanja, vpliv reševanja predhodnih nalog, tehnične omejitve ipd. Glavni tematski sklopi, s katerimi smo ugotavljali kakovost in trajnost sosesk, zajemajo (i) javne odprte površine, (ii) mobilnost in prometno infrastrukturo, (iii) ekološki/okoljski vidik, (iv) skupnost soseske in pripadnost ter (v) uporabo naprednih tehnologij. Vprašanja posameznega sklopa so se ciljno nanašala na posredno ali neposredno doseganje posameznega cilja trajnostnega razvoja. Večina vprašanj v anketi je zaprtega tipa, z ordinalno lestvico ocen, ki omogoča kvantitativno statistično analizo. Manjši del so zajemala vprašanja odprtega tipa, bodisi samostojno bodisi kot dodatek k ordinalnim spremenljivkam oziroma vprašanjem.

V tem prispevku smo preučevanje navad, nazorov in osveščenosti prebivalstva izbranih sosesk selektivno omejili zgolj na izbrane vidike mobilnosti, pomen javnega prostora in odnos posameznika do skupnosti. Obravnavane parametre smo statistično analizirali. Za potrjevanje signifikantnosti razlik med skupinami smo uporabili nekatere ustrezne neparametrične teste, najpogostejše statistični preizkus homogenosti variance (test Levenov) in dvostranski t-test odvisnih vzorcev (pri stopnji značilnosti  $\alpha = 0,05$ ).

## REZULTATI IN DISKUSIJA

### Mobilnost in vzorci potovanja

V sklopu mobilnosti smo preučevali nekatere vidike trajnostnih vzorcev prebivalstva in njihovo mnenje oziroma zadovoljstvo s storitvami ter stanjem v domačem okolju. Trajnostna mobilnost predvideva nekatere dobro poznane cilje, kot so zmanjševanje individualnih motoriziranih oblik prevoza, uravnotežena struktura potovalnih načinov, zmanjševanje rabe fosilnih goriv, kombiniranje različnih prevoznih sredstev, uporaba sodobne tehnologije za upravljanje mobilnosti (Marshall, 2007; Holden, 2016), in sicer z namenom večje pretočnosti ter dostopnosti blaga, ljudi in storitev, zmanjševanja negativnih vplivov prometa na okolje, energetske učinkovitejših in časovno racionalnejših poti, povečevanja varnosti udeležencev in dvigovanja splošne kakovosti bivanja.

Ciljne strategije<sup>8</sup> obsegajo neposredne in kratkoročne ukrepe za uravnavanje mobilnosti (preko izgradnje infrastrukture, novih prometnih storitev, uravnavanje cen prevozov itd.) kot tudi ukrepe, ki so posredni in dolgoročno naravnani (prostorsko načrtovanje storitev in dejavnosti, spreminjanje navad prebivalstva, subvencioniranje javnega prometa itd.). Tem ciljem sledijo tudi kazalci oziroma kriteriji za spremljanje razvoja napredka teh strategij.

V anketi smo zato preučevali nekatere vidike trajnostnih mobilnostnih vzorcev prebivalcev in njihovo mnenje oziroma zadovoljstvo s storitvami ter stanjem v domačem okolju. To so: število avtomobilov v gospodinjstvu respondenta; izbira potovalnega načina na delo/študij; izbira potovalnega načina za namen opravkov in prostega časa; splošno zadovoljstvo s prometni-

<sup>8</sup> Na primer: The Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan, European Commission, 2017; Strategy for low-emission mobility, European Commission, 2016.

mi razmerami na poti v službo/šolo; najbolj moteči element potovanja v službo/šolo ter poraba časa za prihod v službo/šolo. Ob tem smo referenčno preverjali tudi dejansko razdaljo med krajem bivanja respondenta in njegovim delovnim mestom/šolo.

Predpostavke: Predpostavili smo, da v manjših, manj urbaniziranih naseljih zunaj večjih aglomeracij obstajajo slabši pogoji javnoprometne infrastrukture in storitev, zato so tam tudi trajnostni vzorci prebivalcev (z vidika mobilnosti) manj ugodni. Druga predpostavka vključuje pomen geografske lege Komna oziroma pomen večjih centralnih naselij v bližini, na katere so vezani prebivalci. Domnevali smo, da so prebivalci od gravitacijskih mest v okolici bolj odvisni (kot v primeru Kranja in Kamnika) in zato tudi bolj vezani na večje število voženj z osebnim avtomobilom, obenem pa z manjšimi možnostmi za pešačenje in kolesarjenje (privzeli smo povprečni, za večino populacije še udobni doseg – največ do 1 km za pešca in do 5 km za kolesarja). Tretja predpostavka je združevala zadovoljstvo prebivalcev s prometno infrastrukturo, vključno z mirujočim prometom in občutkom prometne varnosti. Predvidevali smo, da imajo soseske v bolj urbaniziranih okoljih zaradi večje kritične mase uporabnikov boljše predispozicije za urejenost kolesarskih poti, pešpoti, parkirišč (in cest na splošno) (Huétink et al., 2010), ter je zato tudi občutek varnosti bolj zadovoljliv. Po drugi strani pa imajo manjša in manj urbanizirana naselja s pretežno enodružinskimi hišami (kot je Komen) manj prometno obremenjene ceste in manj težav s parkirišči oziroma zasičenostjo prostora z mirujočo pločevino.

Rezultati so pokazali delno ujemanje naših predpostavk. Izkazalo se je, da so prebivalci Komna dejansko bolj odvisni od lastnega prevoznega sredstva. Po podatkih Odloka o Občinskem prostorskem načrtu Občine Komen (2018) je število linij javnega prometa, ki naselje povezujejo z okoliškimi središči, skromno, povezave pa so manj pogoste. Pridobljeni podatki naše študije beležijo pri tem tudi izrazito zaposlitveno in izobraževalno navezanost na bolj oddaljene kraje – četrtna prebivalstva se dnevno vozi v službo ali v šolo v kraj, oddaljen več kot 30 km (v primeru sosesk Kranja in Kamnika zgolj 8 %), nadaljnji dve četrtini prebivalcev pa vsaj 15 km (v primeru sosesk Kranja in Kamnika zgolj ena petina). Temu sledi tudi visoka stopnja lastništva registriranih osebnih vozil: v povprečju imajo komenska gospodinjstva vsaj dva osebna avtomobila, kar 37 % gospodinjstev ima tri osebne avtomobile (takih gospodinjstev je v Kranju in Kamniku zgolj 2 %), samo 2 % vprašanih v gospodinjstvu nima avtomobila (gospodinjstva sosesk Kranja in Kamnika 10 %). V vseh primerih omenjenih spremenljivk je mogoče potrditi statistično pomembnost razlik med skupinami. Ob tem ni presenetljivo, da kar tri četrtine (dobrih 74 %) vprašanih v Komnu na delo ali v šolo dnevno prihaja z lastnim avtom (Slika 3); kar tri četrtine od teh pa se v avtu vozijo kot edini potnik. Za primerjavo se v soseskah Kranja in Kamnika, kot smo

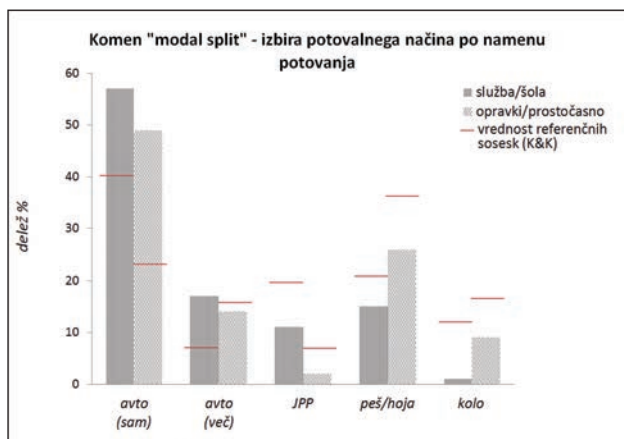
to predhodno predpostavili, dobršen delež vozačev na delo vozi tudi z avtobusom in vlakom, saj zato obstaja razmeroma dobra infrastruktura in oskrba/servis; vendarle tudi tu prevladuje osebni avtomobil – z avtom se na delo in v šolo dnevno vozi 47 % vprašanih, tudi tu se večji del v avtu vozi kot edini potnik (85 % od vseh vozačev v avtu), kar je z vidika obremenjevanja okolja in cestne infrastrukture značilno netrajnostni vzorec.

V segmentu izbire prometnega sredstva je zanimiva še primerjava poti na delo in poti, opravljenih z namenom oskrbe/prostega časa/opravkov (prostočasne poti). V primeru poti prebivalcev Komna se izbira prometnega sredstva za prostočasne poti v primerjavi s potmi na delo ali v šolo ne razlikuje izrazito. V obeh primerih se na pot prebivalci najpogosteje podajo z avtom (64 % v primeru potovanja, ki niso povezana z delom/šolanjem), od tega so v skoraj 80 % primerih v avtu edini potnik. Pri prebivalcih kamniških in kranjskih sosesk je razlika v izbiri prometnega načina med delovnimi in prostočasnimi potmi večja, bolj izrazita pa je tudi večja zasedenost avtomobila v primeru prostočasnih poti. Na poti, ki niso povezane s šolanjem ali delom, se tako v Kamniku in Kranju z avtom odpravi le še 39 % vprašanih, od tega skoraj polovica v družbi vsaj še enega potnika, kar v splošnem znatno zmanjšuje obremenjenost cest in okolja. S tega vidika je Komen manj trajnostno naravnan, prebivalci pa so tudi v prostem času in pri oskrbovanju močno odvisni od osebnega prevoznega sredstva. K večjemu številu voženj z avtomobilom v primerjavi z drugim potovalnim načinom – tudi v primerih, ko za to ni racionalnih razlogov – pa zagotovo pripomorejo še navade ljudi; te se značilno spreminjajo počasneje kot zunanji dejavniki (Neal et al., 2012).

Ker je Komen vsaj za imetnike osebnega avtomobila hitro in dobro povezan z mesti v okolici (OPN Komen, 2018), je zadovoljstvo s cestnimi prometnimi razmerami visoko, medtem ko je glavna srž težav potovanja na delo – po navedbah vprašanih – slaba povezanost med različnimi javnimi prevoznimi sredstvi oziroma nizka raven intermodalnosti. V soseskah Kranja in Kamnika so kot vzrok nezadovoljstva pri potovanjih na prvem mestu prometni zastoji na cestah, kar dobro pojasnjuje tudi primerjava prepotovane razdalje in porabljenega časa zanjo (Slika 4). Prebivalci Komna se dnevno vozijo na delo ali šolanje v kraje, ki so oddaljeni v povprečju 31 km, za kar povprečno porabijo 34 minut. Prebivalci sosesk Kamnika in Kranja so od kraja dela oziroma šolanja oddaljeni v povprečju 16 km, za to razdaljo pa porabijo v povprečju zgolj nekaj minut manj kot Komenčani. Proporcionalno gledano, torej potujejo skoraj za polovico počasneje.

Splošno zadovoljstvo z dnevnim potovanjem na delo ali v šolo je kljub manjši izbiri pri potovalnih sredstvih v Komnu večje, kot je to v prometu sosesk Kranja in Kamnika, kar je najverjetneje tudi posledica dejstva, da nudi Komen, vsaj za imetnike osebnega avtomobila, hitre in dobre povezave z mesti v okolici, tudi z Ljubljano.

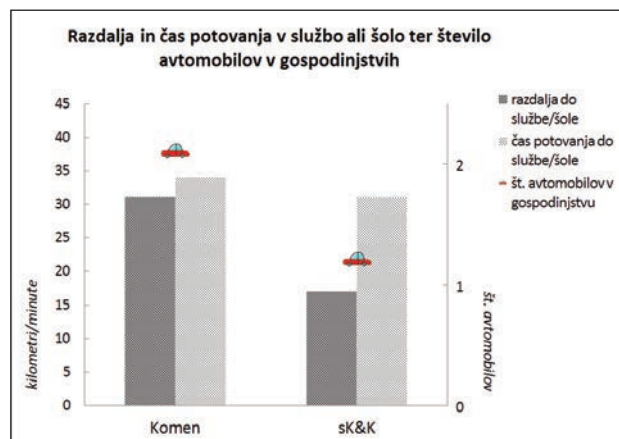




**Slika 3: Izbira potovalnega načina prebivalcev sosesk Komna po namenu potovanja z dodanimi referenčnimi vrednostmi prebivalcev sosesk Kamnika in Kranja (sK&K).<sup>9</sup>**

Dojemanje varnosti v prometu v domači soseski/kraju smo preverjali z udeležbo respondentov kot kolesarjev in pešcev. Dobro počutje in občutek varnosti pri hoji in kolesarjenju znatno vpliva na pogostejše odločanje za te bolj trajnostne potovalne načine na ustreznih manjših razdaljah (Kerr *et al.*, 2015) in se pogosto povezuje z boljšim stanjem infrastrukturne opremljenosti (večje število urejenih kolesarskih poti, pogostejša opremljenost cest s pločnikom, večje število ulic z umirjanjem prometa *itd.*). Vprašani so občutek varnosti ugodno ocenili – zgolj 16 % se pri pešačenju v naselju ne počuti dovolj varno (izražena zgolj prometna varnost) nekoliko večji delež nezadovoljstva z varnostjo se pojavi v primeru kolesarjenja (22 % vprašanih nezadovoljnih). V primerjavi s povprečji, pridobljenimi v soseskah Kamnika in Kranja, je občutek varnosti nemotoriziranih udeležencev v prometu povsem primerljiv, zato te predpostavke ne moremo potrditi (ni statistično pomembnih razlik med skupinama,  $t(204) = .26, p > .05$ ). Čeprav je znotraj naselja Komen v primerjavi s soseskami Kranja in Kamnika kolesarska in peš infrastruktura precej slabše urejena (OPN, 2018), to bistveno ne vpliva na občutek varnosti udeležencev. Razloge lahko deloma iščemo v razmeroma majhnem deležu kolesarjev in pešcev v Komnu, po drugi strani pa tudi v manjši splošni obremenjenosti cest z motoriziranim prometom, in sicer na račun manjšega števila vseh uporabnikov teh cest; po podatkih Direkcije RS za infrastrukturo (2018) so vrednosti povprečnega letnega dnevnega prometa (PLDP) cest posamezne kategorije v Komnu vsaj 2-krat nižje v primerjavi s primerljivimi kategorijami cest v Kamniku in Kranju.

Z omenjenimi postavkami lahko povežemo tudi zadovoljstvo vprašanih z mirujočim prometom v soseski. Parkiranje v soseskah Komna po mnenju vprašanih ni problematično, ne z vidika tistih, ki parkirajo, niti z vidi-



**Slika 4: Primerjava povprečne razdalje in časa potovanja za prihod v službo ali šolo ter povprečno število avtomobilov v posameznem gospodinjstvu – podatki za prebivalce sosesk Komna in prebivalce referenčnih sosesk Kamnika in Kranja (sK&K).**

ka tistih, ki jih parkiranje ovira. V primerjavi z bolj gosto poseljenimi soseskami Kranja in Kamnika so stanovalci Komna bolj zadovoljni z možnostmi za parkiranje, tako v bližini doma ( $t(267) = 10.42, p < .05$ ), kot tudi v bližini storitvenih dejavnosti (vrtec, šola, trgovina *itd.*) v soseski ( $t(267) = -.607, p < .05$ ). Z urejenostjo parkiranja za stanovalce ni zadovoljnih 22 % vprašanih (v soseskah Kamnika in Kranja kar 57 %), z urejenostjo parkiranja ob storitvenih dejavnostih v soseski in bližini (vrtec, šola, trgovina *itd.*) je nezadovoljnih 13 % vprašanih (v Kamniku in Kranju 37 %). Takšni rezultati so, vsaj v primeru parkiranja ob lastnem domu, razumljivi: večina Komenčanov živi v enodružinskih hišah, ki zagotavljajo lastne parkirne prostore. Dobri dve tretjini (67 %) vprašanih prebivalcev Komna avto doma največkrat parkira na svojem dvorišču ali v lastni garaži, 23 % na urejenem parkirišču v bližini doma. Blokovska in bolj kompaktna zazidavava v Kamniku in Kranju to omogoča v precej manjši meri, zato je bolj pogosto tudi stihijsko parkiranje (po zelenicah, ob cesti, na pločnikih) in zasedanje prostih javnih površin v takšnih soseskah. Posledično se to odraža v manjši kakovosti bivanja ter zasedanju/razvrednotenju prostih javnih površin, če za ta problem ni ustrezno poskrbljeno na ravni soseske ali kraja. Ne glede torej, da so prebivalci Komna po številu osebnih avtomobilov manj trajnostno naravnani, pa se to le malo odraža v potencialni zasičenosti odprtih javnih prostorov s parkiranimi vozili.

### Odnos do javnih prostorov

Odpri javni prostori (ulica, trg, igrišče, park *ipd.*), njihovo oblikovanje, opremljenost in prostorsko-druž-

<sup>9</sup> JPP – javni potniški promet.

beni značaj igrajo pomembno vlogo pri vzpostavljanju odnosa posameznika do teh prostorov (Harvey & Aultman-Hall, 2016) in so pomemben dejavnik pri doživljanju domačega okolja, ki se kaže tudi v trajnostnih vedenjskih vzorcih prebivalstva (El Din et al., 2013). Pri tem največkrat govorimo o kakovostni grajeni strukturi, ki stremi k pragmatični vrednosti za udejanjanje odzivne, uporabniku prijazne strukture in oblike prostora ter storitev, ki jih ponuja. To v dolgoročnem smislu nosi tudi trajnostno noto razvoja, saj pomeni dobro izkoriščen prostorski potencial (racionalno rabo, neizključujoče družbeno okolje, krepitev identitete skozi ohranjanje kulturne dediščine itd.), ki prinaša osnovo za ekonomsko vzdržno okolje oziroma zadostno kritično maso uporabnikov za obstoj storitev. Tak izbor zornega kota za interpretacijo prostorskih kvalitete sloni na temeljnih potrebah in pričakovanjih povprečnega uporabnika v prostoru (Ewing & Handy, 2009), ob tem pa vključuje omejitve določenih pričakovanj, ki bi onemogočala doseganje dolgoročnih ciljev trajnosti.

V anketi smo preučevali odnos prebivalcev do skupnih (javnih) prostorov skozi štiri vidike. To so: splošno zadovoljstvo z urejenostjo<sup>10</sup> javnih površin; pogostost rabe in načini rabe s strani anketirancev; stopnja splošne varnosti, kot jo dojemajo respondenti; ter prepoznavanje slabosti oziroma pomanjkljivosti na javnih površinah.

Predpostavke: predpostavili smo, da je v naseljih s pretežno enodružinsko gradnjo, z več zunanjimi pripadajočimi površinami, manjše povpraševanje po skupnih javnih prostorih kot v gosto naseljenih blokovskih naseljih mest, zato je tudi odnos prebivalcev do teh površin bolj neopredeljen in manj pereč, po drugi strani pa tudi manj angažiran in manj zavezujoč. S tem povezana je druga predpostavka, ki opredeljuje dožemanje varnosti uporabnikov na javnih površinah – ta se največkrat povezuje s prisotnostjo večjega števila prisotnih uporabnikov, fizično in vizualno (Jacobs, 1961), tudi z večjim oblikovalskim odtisom ter vzdrževanostjo prostorov. Glede na to smo predvideli, da je v bolj urbaniziranih soseskah občutek varnosti večji.

Rezultati so deloma potrdili naše hipoteze. Prebivalci Komna dejansko malo uporabljajo skupne javne površine (Slika 5); 20 % jih ne uporablja nikoli, 37 % redko in 31 % zgolj občasno, obenem kar 73 % vprašanih meni, da tovrstnih površin ne uporablja nihče ali zelo malo ljudi. Za primerjavo: v drugih obravnavanih slovenskih soseskah tako mnenje deli zgolj 26 % vprašanih; največ ljudi (65 %) namreč meni, da skupne javne površine uporablja veliko ljudi, in sicer raznolike<sup>11</sup> skupine prebivalcev (družbenoekonomsko, demografsko), še največ so po mnenju vprašanih to družine z otroki. Splošna stopnja pogostosti uporabe (uporabljena Likertova naraščajoča 5-stopenjska lestvica) teh prostorov znaša v Komnu

2,3, medtem ko je v obravnavanih soseskah Kamnika in Kranja znatno večja in znaša 3.1 ( $t(298) = .58$ ;  $p = .012$ ;  $p < .05$ ). Kot smo predvideli, večina vprašanih v Komnu nima posebej izrazitega mnenja o urejenosti teh površin – v povprečju so jih na lestvici zadovoljstva ocenili s 2,9 (Kamnik in Kranj 3.8;  $t(298) = 8.28$ ;  $p = .024$ ;  $p < .05$ ). Nekoliko večje nezadovoljstvo so prebivalci komenskih sosesk pokazali do opremljenosti z igrali in rekreacijsko opremo, ki je, sodeč po odgovorih, nezadostna, neobstoječa ali premalo vzdrževana (Slika 6). Prebivalce smo tudi povprašali o posebnem oziroma edinstvenem značaju njihove soseske (v pozitivnem smislu) v primerjavi z drugimi poznanimi soseskami v okolici. Velika večina prebivalcev Komna (83 %) je menila, da je njihova soseska, tako po urejenosti kot edinstvenosti, povsem primerljiva z drugimi soseskami v okolici oziroma je ne odlikuje nič posebnega (72 %). Tovrstni neizraziti odnos in dožemanje, ne glede na dejansko stanje, se pogosto povezuje z manjšim poistovetenjem z lokalnim okoljem ter posledično z manjšim občutkom pripadnosti in dolžnosti do tega prostora (Chapin & Knapp, 2015). V Kamniku in Kranju imajo prebivalci do lastne soseske nekoliko bolj »patriotski« odnos, večji delež vprašanih namreč lastni soseski prisoja večjo urejenost in edinstvenost kot drugim soseskam v bližini. Razlika je, po naših izkušnjah (Verovšek et al., 2016), lahko tudi posledica tega, da ima javi prostor v soseskah z enodružinskimi lastniškimi hišami precej manjši pomen za posameznika, saj to mesto v določeni meri zaseda ožji individualni prostor na ravni lastne hiše, vrta, travnika, ki opravlja vlogo družabnega prostora (igranje, rekreacija, druženje itd.). V primeru gosteje naseljenih sosesk, posebej blokovskih, so možnosti za takšne aktivnosti znotraj zasebnega odprtega prostora precej manjše.

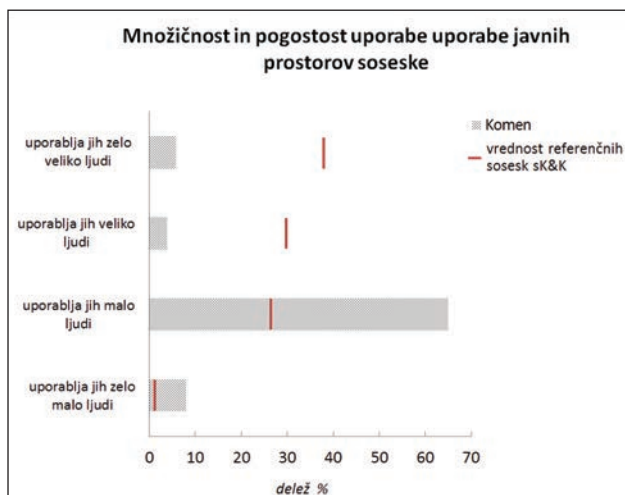
Kljub vsemu pa se zanimivo, v nasprotju z našo hipotezo, dožemanje splošne varnosti v Komnu na račun redke uporabe javnih prostorov s strani prebivalcev ni zmanjšalo. Stopnja varnosti na javnih površinah, kot so jo z vidika lastnega občutenja opredelili vprašani, v povprečju znaša 3.8 (Likertova naraščajoča 5-stopenjska lestvica) in je primerljiva bolj urbaniziranim soseskam (soseske Kamnika in Kranja 3.7;  $t(259) = -2.363$ ;  $p = .019$ ; statistično pomembna razlika ne obstaja). Pri tem je zgolj 6 % vprašanih v Komnu svojo sosesko ocenilo kot nevarno ali zelo nevarno, to je v enakem deležu kot v primeru sosesk Kranja in Kamnika.

### Pripadnost in aktivnost v lokalni skupnosti

Pomen lokalne skupnosti za posameznika in njegovo sodelovanje v družbenem okolju domačega kraja je pomemben pokazatelj pripadnosti in istovetenja z lokalnim okoljem ter posledično vpliva na trajnostne vedenjske vzorce in dožemanje kakovosti bivanja (Harvey &

<sup>10</sup> Čistost, vzdrževanost poti, urejenost zelenja, zadostnost in dobro stanje urbane opreme, kot so klopi, smetnjaki, luči idr.

<sup>11</sup> Ta dodatni podatek je pomemben za obravnavo, saj prinaša spoznanje o heterogenosti strukture uporabnikov, neizključevalnega značaja teh prostorov oziroma o morebitnih znakih segregacije.

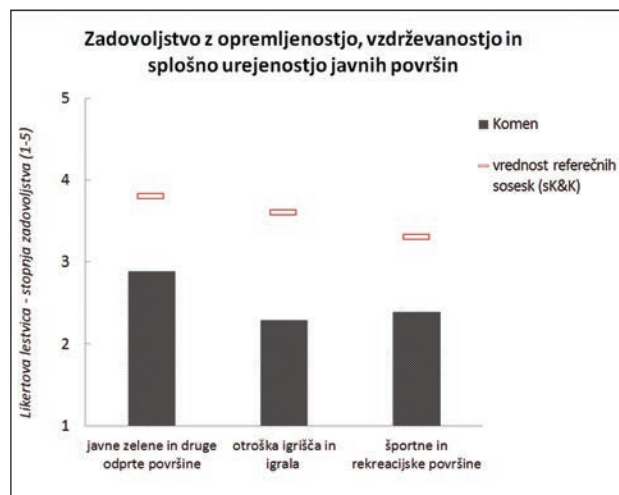


**Slika 5:** Pogostost in množičnost uporabe javnih površin (po mnenju anketirancev) v soseskah Komna z referenčnimi vrednostmi v soseskah Kamnika in Kranja (sK&K).

Aultman-Hall, 2016). V anketi smo vključenost posameznika v lokalno skupnost preverjali na osnovi več različnih vidikov udeležbe, to je skozi način uporabe skupnih javnih prostorov, sodelovanje v lokalnih društvih in iniciativah, sodelovanje pri delovnih akcijah kraja, organizaciji in udeležbi na krajevnih dogodkih, pri soodločanju (pasivnem ali aktivnem) v četrtnih/krajevnih skupnostih ali soodločanju v okviru večstanovanjskih stavb. Spremenljivke se do določene mere navezujejo na zgoraj obravnavane vidike (prostor kot posrednik za oblikovanje skupnosti), vendar v tem primeru brez prednostne vloge fizičnega prostora pri obravnavanih spremenljivkah.

Glede na zelo raznolike in pogosto nasprotujoče si izsledke obstoječih raziskav na tem področju (Oliver & Pearl, 2018) smo predpostavili primerljive rezultate s strani prebivalcev Komna in prebivalcev gosteje naseljenih sosesk Kranja in Kamnika.

Rezultati so pokazali, da javni prostor v primeru sosesk Kamnika in Kranja kljub boljši opremljenosti in obiskanosti izrazito ne prispeva h krepitvi skupnosti ali njeni pripadnosti. Ne glede na to, da prebivalci kamniških in kranjskih sosesk bolj pogosto in redno uporabljajo javne površine v soseski kot prebivalci komenskih sosesk (obravnavana v prejšnji točki/podpoglavju), se namreč pokaže precejšnja razlika v načinu uporabe. Prebivalci komenskih sosesk so v času zadrževanja na javnih površinah veliko bolj družbeno aktivni – razmeroma velik delež vprašanih se v tem času aktivno druži s sosedi (16 %), medtem ko je v Komnu in Kamniku na tak način aktivnih zgolj 8 % vprašanih. Slednji so bolj naklonjeni individualnim dejavnostim, kot so športno udejstvovanje in sprehajanje (tudi sprehajanje psa) po okolišu (50 %) ter družbenim aktivnostim v okviru družine (spremljanje otrok pri igri in ukvarjanje z njimi) –



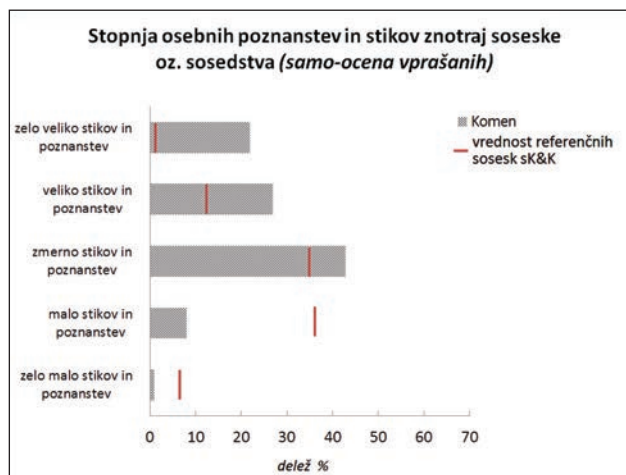
**Slika 6:** povprečna stopnja zadovoljstva z opremljenostjo, vzdrževanostjo in splošno urejenostjo odprtih javnih površin sosesk v Komnu z referenčnimi vrednostmi zadovoljstva v soseskah Kamnika in Kranja (sK&K).

16 % odgovorov. Pri tem seveda lahko privzamemo, da je vsako od omenjenih aktivnosti mogoče opravljati tudi v družbi, vendar gre v osnovi za individualno aktivnost, kar smo pri vprašanju predhodno tudi poudarili.

Te izsledke do določene mere potrjuje in dopolnjuje vprašanje o poznanstvih in stikih, ki so jih vprašani vzpostavili znotraj soseske oziroma domačih sosesk (Slika 7). V Komnu je domala polovica (49 %) vprašanih ocenila, da dobro ali zelo dobro poznajo ljudi znotraj lastne soseske oziroma imajo z njimi veliko ali zelo veliko stikov. V soseskah Kamnika in Kranja je delež takih zgolj 21 %, medtem ko veliko več respondentov teh sosesk svoje stike in poznanstva znotraj soseske ocenjuje kot zelo šibke ali šibke (40 %). Na to spremenljivko lahko vpliva tudi več zunanjih dejavnikov, pomembnejši med njimi se nanašajo na velikost oziroma gostoto prebivalcev, čas oziroma dolžino obdobja bivanja v isti soseski ter tudi starost populacije, saj daljše bivanje v večini primerov pomeni tudi večje poznavanje in več stikov z okolico. V primeru obravnavanih sosesk obstajajo pomembne razlike v številčnosti sosesk oziroma gostoti poselitve, vendar pa ni večjih razlik v povprečju let bivanja v soseskah med vprašanimi ( $t(206) = -1.26$ ;  $p > 0.05$ ), čeprav bi slednje morda glede na mestni oziroma nemestni značaj sosesk pričakovali.

Prebivalce smo nadalje spraševali po njihovem vključevanju v aktivnosti, ki konstituira skupnost (aktivnost v društvih, krajevni skupnosti, lokalnih civilnih iniciativah, v delovnih akcijah in sestankih hišnih skupnosti ipd.); (Slika 8). Vprašani so lahko lahko navedli sodelovanje v več različnih oblikah aktivnosti oziroma so se lahko opredelili negativno (*»ne sodelujem nikjer«*). V Komnu se zgolj 5 % vprašanih ne udeležuje nikakršnih skupnih aktivnosti, delež teh je v soseskah

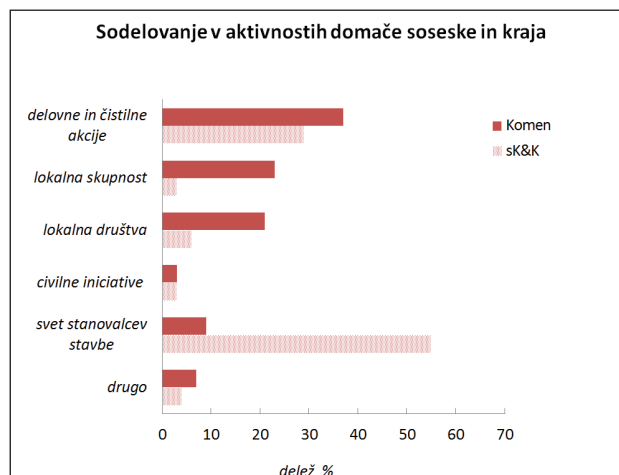




**Slika 7: Stopnja osebnih poznanstev in stikov v lokalnem okolju prebivalcev sosesk Komna z referenčnimi vrednostmi prebivalcev sosesk Kamnika in Kranja (SK&K).**

Kamnika in Kranja znatno večji (25 %). Nadalje so rezultati pokazali, da se v povprečju Komenčani pogosteje udeležujejo aktivnosti omenjenega značaja; v povprečju se vsakdo udeležuje oziroma sodeluje vsaj v dveh tovrstnih aktivnostih oziroma, statistično natančneje, v 2,3 aktivnostih/vprašanega prebivalca. Vprašani stanovalci Kamnika in Kranja v povprečju sodelujejo zgolj z eno aktivnostjo oziroma, statistično natančneje, v 1,1 aktivnostih na prebivalca. Opisni odgovori so potrdili, da gre v primerih Kamnika in Kranja največkrat za sodelovanje pri sestankih stanovalcev domačega bloka, ki so obvezni del protokola upravnikovega vodenja. Pri komenskem prebivalstvu, sodeč po opisnih odgovorih, prevladuje sodelovanje v lokalnih društvih (športno-kulturnih) in sodelovanje pri čistilnih in delovnih akcijah v kraju.

Eden od vidikov, pomembnih za bolj trajnostno držo v odnosu do širšega okolja bivanja, predvideva pripravljenost prebivalcev za soodločanje pri skupnih zadevah in prostorskem razvoju ter pripravljenosti lastnega vložka k temu (Niedderer et al., 2017). Respondente smo zato na hipotetični ravni vprašali o želji in preferencah pri morebitnih vlaganjih v izboljšanje soseske. Tako v primeru Komna kot drugih obravnavanih sosesk je največji delež vprašanih želel svojo udeležbo izkazati s svojim (podarjenim) časom in lastnimi veščinami, ki bi k izboljšanju lahko pripomogle; Komenčani so temu naklonjeni kar v 88 %, prebivalci kamniških in kranjskih sosesk manj (66 % vprašanih). Majhen delež vprašanih (Komen 1 %, Kamnik in Kranj 7 %) bi svoj angažma najraje izkazal neposredno s finančnimi sredstvi. V skladu z nekaterimi avtorji, naj bi preference po zgolj finančni udeležbi kazale na siceršnjo materialno-deklarativno podporo skupnosti, vendar obenem nakazujejo odtujenost od skupnosti in zapiranje v ožje/individualne družbene kroge (Neal et al, 2012). Sle-



**Slika 8: Stopnja sodelovanja prebivalcev Komna v lokalnih aktivnostih z referenčnimi vrednostmi prebivalcev sosesk Kamnika in Kranja (SK&K).**

dnje je bolj značilno za bolj urbanizirana okolja, vendar je glede finančnega vložka hipoteza vprašljiva, saj ne upošteva dejanske zmožnosti prebivalstva po takšni udeležbi.

Morda bolj ali celo najbolj zgovoren je negativni/odklonilni del odgovorov – v Komnu je 11 % vprašanih odgovorilo, da se sploh ne želi vključevati v izboljševanje soseske, medtem ko je v Kamniku in Kranju ta delež skoraj še enkrat večji (21 %). Razmeroma visok delež tovrstnih odklonilnih odgovorov kaže na očitno manjši angažma tega dela prebivalstva pri skrbi za skupno dobro, ki velja za eno temeljnih vrednot trajnosti. S tega vidika je komensko prebivalstvo bolj trajnostno naravnano oziroma izkazuje večjo dojemljivost za skupinski pristop k izboljšanju soseske.

Povzamemo lahko, da obravnavane spremenljivke tega sklopa kažejo na bolj trajnostno vedenje komenskega prebivalstva v primerjavi s prebivalci sosesk Kamnika in Kranja, saj izkazujejo večjo pripadnost in povezanost z domačim družbenim okoljem ter večji angažma oziroma željo po vključevanju v aktivnosti kraja in soodločanje o njem. Pri tem verjetno ključno vlogo igrajo značaj naselja ter številčnost in stalnost prebivalcev. Čeprav tega statistično ne moremo potrditi, je zelo verjetno, da bolj vaški značaj sosesk lahko povezujemo z bolj pristnimi stiki ljudi, sosedov in znancev, in sicer predvsem na račun manjše in bolj ustaljene/stabilne/stalne lokalne skupnosti. V bolj urbaniziranih blokovskih naseljih je število selitev in fluktuacija prebivalcev večja (Holden, 2016), obenem je tudi delež najemnikov večji, gostota prebivalcev pa znatno večja, kar lahko vpliva na manj trdne stike med ljudmi ter manjšo navezanost na dani družbeni prostor in kontekst. Raznolikost prebivalstvene strukture in raznovrstnost interesov družbene sfere nekega okolja sicer navadno povečujeta kakovost bivanja (Williams & Dair, 2007),



**Slika 9: Hoja in kolesarjenje sta na Krasu razvita predvsem v okviru turističnih aktivnosti in rekreacije, precej manj pa kot način potovanja na delo ali po opravkih (Foto: S. Verovšek & R. Hočevár).**

po drugi strani pa zaradi manjšega števila skupnih interesov vendarle zmanjšujeta pripadnost. S tega vidika se je Komen, kljub opaznim trendom delovnih dnevnih migracij, izkazal kot naselje, kjer preseljevanje ni doseglo kritične točke spalnega naselja, za katerega je značilno, da skupni prostor in skupnost izgubljata svoj

pomen. Delež domačega oziroma lokalnega prebivalstva z daljšim stažem bivanja v tem kraju ostaja velik, povprečna doba bivanja prebivalcev v tem kraju je 29 let, kar kaže na ustaljeno demografsko gibanje brez večjega priseljevanja/odseljevanja (SURs, 2017), s tem pa se povečuje pomen obstoječih vezi med prebivalci.

## ZAKLJUČEK

Vzorci vedenj, navade in pogledi prebivalstva na različne problematike, ki se zgoščajo ob pojmu bivanja, so pomemben del vhodnih podatkov za diagnosticiranje stanja, ki ga predvideva model vrednotenja trajnosti, razvit v okviru tekoče temeljne raziskave (*Sistemska podpora odločanju pri urbani prenovi slovenskih naselij z vidika uravnoveženja energijske učinkovitosti in upravljanja lokalnih virov v soseskah*). Pilotna študija, ki smo jo izvedli in ki jo deloma obravnavamo v tem prispevku, je bila namenjena predvsem prepoznavanju možnosti za pridobivanje manjkajočih podatkov na ravni sosesk in morebitnih ovir, ki se pri tem pojavljajo. S tega vidika smo študijo opravili na populaciji prostorsko in družbeno raznolikih sosesk, kar nam nadalje daje osnovo za potrebne spremembe strukture kazalcev modela vrednotenja oziroma njihovo umerjanje in normiranje za boljšo prenosljivost instrumenta.

»Stranski proizvod« omenjenih nalog so tudi dejansko pridobljeni podatki o stanju pilotnih sosesk, tudi v okviru anketne poizvedbe, ki smo jo opravili. V tem prispevku smo predstavili del takšnih, vsebinskih rezultatov anketne študije, in sicer s poudarkom na kopenskem prebivalstvu v odnosu do referenčnih povprečnih vrednosti ostalih obravnavanih sosesk v območju Kamnika in Kranja. Vsebinski rezultati so tako doprinos k poznavanju trendov trajnostne učinkovitosti v okviru prebivalcev kraške in primorske regije in v odnosu do nekaterih bolj urbaniziranih sosesk osrednje Slovenije; osvetljujejo nekatere vsebinske sklope, ki smo jih obravnavali znotraj raziskovalnega projekta. Z vidika obstoječih razpoložljivih podatkov na ravni sosesk oziroma podobnih prostorskih meril rezultati, četudi tematsko selektivni, predstavljajo dobrodošel prispevek, ne le za vrednotenje trajnostne učinkovitosti, pač pa tudi z vidika kakovosti bivanja prebivalcev teh sosesk, njihovih stališč in odnosa do nekaterih perečih tematik danega lokalnega in časovnega konteksta.

Študija je pilotna, kar prinaša omejitve v smislu posploševanja končnih izsledkov oziroma (nekritičnega) sklepanja o vplivih značilnosti sosesk na vedenje njenih prebivalcev. Navzlic verjetnostnemu značaju vzorca in zadostni velikosti vzorčne populacije rezultati ne dovoljujejo večjih posploševanj oziroma pri tem velja zadržek, ki se nanaša predvsem na majhno število obravnavanih sosesk in regionalno pokritost znotraj slovenskega prostora. Posamezne regije v Sloveniji izkazujejo specifične značilnosti, ki bi, ne glede na morebitno primerljivo starost, urbaniziranost in poselitveno gostoto sosesk, lahko vplivale na rezultate vedenjskih vzorcev njihovih prebivalcev.

Kljub omenjenim zadržkom nam rezultati študije dajejo dobro popotnico za oblikovanje prilagojenih oblik kazalcev trajnostne in kakovostne evalvacije, predvsem pa tudi dober okvir za pretres njihove relevantnosti. Nekateri vidiki trajnosti so bolj relevantni v določenih tipih sosesk, medtem ko so za druge tipe morda povsem nebistveni in v strukturi vrednotenja nepotrebni. Zavedamo se namreč, da sta tako racionalizacija kot standardizacija instrumentov za vrednotenje sosesk bistveni za njihovo operabilnost in dejansko izvedljivost. Problem shem vrednotenja zvečine ni v izključevanju posameznih vidikov trajnosti, pač pa v nezmožnosti za dejansko oblikovanje kazalcev in pridobivanje ustreznih vhodnih podatkov, ki bi ta del trajnosti pojasnjevali. S to pilotno študijo smo bliže metodam vrednotenja, ki bodo te težave lahko vsaj deloma premostile.

## AFILIACIJA

Raziskava je del projekta *Sistemska podpora odločanju pri urbani prenovi slovenskih naselij z vidika uravnoveženja energijske učinkovitosti in upravljanja z lokalnimi viri v soseskah* (J5-7295, 2016–2018), ki ga sofinancira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije iz državnega proračuna.



## SUSTAINABLE PATTERNS IN BEHAVIOUR OF SLOVENIAN COMMUNITIES – SELECTED FINDINGS OF THE STUDY ON THE CASE OF KOMEN

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## SUMMARY

*This contribution discusses the sustainable efficiency and quality of Slovenian neighbourhoods with the focus to the sustainability awareness and habits of their residents. The empirical study in selected Slovenian neighbourhoods which is partly discussed in this article was carried out as a pilot of the research project developing data-based system to support decision-making process in modular urban renewal of Slovene settlements at the level of neighbourhoods. The survey (n = 321) refers to the typical patterns of behaviour, convictions and habits in relation to everyday activities condensed around the notion of dwelling and their impact on the social and natural environment. This article focuses on certain, thematically-referenced results brought about by the survey, with highlighted attention to the residents of Komen. In the analysis we compare the results gained by the Komen populations with the results obtained in other pilot neighbourhoods within the more urbanized areas of central Slovenia.*

*The results of the survey contribute to the repository of knowledge, enlightening current trends and tendencies regarding sustainable behaviour of the residents of Karst and coastal region; comparably also in relation to some of the more urbanized neighbourhoods of central Slovenia. From the perspective of the existing available data at the level of neighbourhoods (or similar spatial scales), the results, although thematically selective, represent a welcome contribution, not only for the evaluation of sustainable efficiency, but also in terms of the perceived quality of living by the residents of these neighbourhood, their attitudes and opinions towards some of the contemporary issues in the local and temporal context.*

*The study represents a pilot extent, which brings limitations in terms of generalization of the final findings or in terms of major deductive reasoning related to the impacts of the neighbourhoods' characteristics on the behaviour of their inhabitants. In spite of the random sampling used and the suitable size of the sample population, the results do not allow for uncritical generalizations nor provide for major transferability within other Slovenian neighbourhoods. The concern refers to the relatively squat number of neighbourhoods involved and disproportionate regional coverage within the Slovenian territory. Namely, the individual regions in Slovenia show specific characteristics in such extent that, irrespective of comparable level of urbanization, population density or oldness of the neighbourhoods might influence the results of behavioural patterns of their inhabitants.*

**Keywords:** neighbourhoods, sustainability, sustainable patterns, sustainable behaviour, sustainability awareness

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SUGLASNIČKI SISTEM I VAŽNIJI GLASOVNI PROCESI U GOVORU  
POTARJA (U KONTEKSTU MIJEŠANIH I PRELAZNIH GOVORNIH TIPOVA)

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## ABSTRACT

*The article describes the consonant system in the speech of Potarje, an area in Northern Montenegro. The speech belongs to the East-Herzegovinian dialect, which at the margins displays transitional and mixed character. The specificity of this geolinguistic area is in that it testifies to the language being a living category and demonstrates that an administrative boundary in linguistics and the language itself is not necessarily a boundary between "languages," but rather a border area between different speeches. This applies to the area between Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia. The mixed speech is characteristic of the Muslim "language oasis" far from the border, in the village of Lever Tara. Methods of research were based on fieldwork, records, audio recordings, as well as descriptions and comparisons within the speech and with the neighbouring speeches, and those relevant for the explanation of certain speech phenomena. Our goal was to present the material, its descriptions and comparisons without any pretensions to provide a full explanation of the speech lines.*

**Keywords:** speech of Potarje, transitional speech, mixed speech, consonant system, vocal processes

IL SISTEMA CONSONANTICO E I PRINCIPALI PROCESSI FONETICI NELL'IDIOMA DI  
POTARJE (NEL CONTESTO DEI TIPI DI PARLATA MISTA E DI TRANSIZIONE)

## SINTESI

*Il contributo descrive il sistema consonantico della parlata di Potarje. Potarje è l'area del bacino del fiume Tara nel Nord del Montenegro e il suo idioma appartiene al dialetto erzegovino orientale, manifestando ai margini del territorio un carattere di transizione e misto. Quest'area geolinguistica ha la peculiarità di comprovare il fatto che il linguaggio orale è una categoria viva e che né in linguistica né nel linguaggio stesso un confine amministrativo costituisce una barriera all'estensione delle isoglosse, le quali vengono prese, in maniera selettiva, come base per la designazione di una determinata parlata. Gli idiomi misti della nostra ricerca comprendono le parlate "contigue" tra gli stati di Montenegro, Bosnia-Erzegovina, e la Repubblica Serba. Come esempio del tipo di parlata mista si può prendere anche l'oasi linguistica di popolazioni musulmane lontane dal confine, ossia il villaggio di Lever Tara. I metodi di ricerca sono basati su studi sul campo, su annotazioni e registrazioni audio, nonché sulle descrizioni e comparazioni all'interno della parlata al centro dello studio, di parlate contigue e quelle rilevanti per la spiegazione di determinati fenomeni del linguaggio orale. Il nostro obiettivo era di presentare la struttura dell'idioma, la sua descrizione e comparazione, senza alcuna pretesa di fornire una spiegazione esaustiva delle isoglosse.*

**Parole chiave:** l'idioma di Potarje, idioma di transizione, idioma misto, sistema consonantico, processi fonetici



## GEOLINGVISTIČKI I GEOGRAFSKI STATUS POTARJA

Pojam *Potarje* kao geografski možemo posmatrati u užem i širem smislu, a sljedstveno tome i govor, tj. govore ovoga područja (Vujičić, 1996, 31–32). U svojim radovima vezanim za ovu oblast Dragomir Vujičić govori o dijalekatskom izgovoru ovog hidronima i označavanju prostora i oblasti uz Taru modelom prefiksno-sufiksne tvorbe, kakvu su Sloveni ponijeli iz stare postojbine:

*Dijalekatski izgovor ovog hidronima na području cijelog toka je Tära, padežni oblici s prijedlozima ili bez njih imaju izgovor: s Täre, nà Taru, Tàrom, tärskī, tärskē stījene i sl. [...] U durmitorskom kraju kažu za one što žive „s drugu stranu Tare“, na drugoj obali, da su Zàtarci dok oni iz sandžačkog kraja ove na lijevoj obali počesto zovu Prekòtārci (s tim što i jedan i drugi etnik počesto imaju prizvuk pejorativnosti). [...] Od žitelja s obje strane rijeke Tare teško da će se čuti prefiksno-sufiksni tip Pòtarje. [...] Jer, Tara se po svemu uklapa, da se poslužimo riječima A. Peca u „one južnije predjele naše teritorije“, gdje je česta pojava uopštavanja hidronima i za toponim: Raška, Zeta, Bosna. Drugo je pitanje zašto je to tako. Peco se tu našao na vratima najprihvatljivijeg objašnjenja: „[...] od starosedelačkog stanovništva preuzeti su gotovi nazivi za pojedine rečne doline, i sa znatno širim značenjem – za označavanje celih oblasti, srednjovekovnih država. Tako su u ovim krajevima tvorački impulsi doneseni iz stare postojbine ostali neiskorišteni“. Kada je riječ o rijeci Tari, onda treba, čini nam se, još jedan momenat imati u vidu: tamo „oblasti oko Tare“, kako se uobičajeno to „oblast“ shvata gotovo i da nema, jer je njeno korito u najvećem dijelu toka ukliješteno u kanjonu sa gorostasnim liticama (Vujičić, 1996, 31–32).*

Dijalektološkim istraživanjima se, svakako, ne mogu povući stroge granice, što zbog prirode samog govora kao žive kategorije, što zbog nepodudaranja geografskih i geolingvističkih okvira, odnosno „granica“. U globalnoj dijalektološkoj podjeli ovi govori

pripadaju u najvećem dijelu *istočnohercegovačkim*, tj. najprogresivnijim govorima štokavskog dijalekta koji čine *osnovicu* standardnog srpskog jezika. Međutim, ono što ovaj govor/govore sa stanovišta arealne lingvistike svrstava u pojedine tipove ili skup podtipova u lingvističkom i geolingvističkom smislu jeste to da su na svojim rubovima i dublje *prelaznog* i *miješanog* tipa. Radoje Simić (1972, 22–23) interpretira pojmove prelaznih i miješanih govornih tipova u dijalekatskoj kompoziciji levačkog govora koji bi se u izvjesnom smislu mogli prihvatiti kao opšteteorijski.<sup>1</sup>

Prelazne, tj. granične govore posmatramo, u kontekstu našeg istraživanja, kao govorna područja, tj. govorne oaze među različitim dijalektima koja u izvjesnoj mjeri i na različitim nivoima čuvaju forme jednog i drugog dijalekta (u našem slučaju zetsko-raškog i istočnohercegovačkog), a miješani govorni tip nastaje u okviru jednog dijalekta uplivom markantnih formi govora koji se „sudaraju“ (u našem govoru uticaj bosanskih govora u rubnim oblastima vidan je u nekim fonološkim i leksičkim formama, a pošto se radi o istom dijalektu nema važnijih odstupanja u distribuciji akcenata).<sup>2</sup> O dijalekatskom statusu govora Potarja i o pojedinim fenomenima pisali smo u više navrata (Bojović, 2002, 213–218; Bojović, 2006, 57–63; Bojović, 2008a, 223–341; Bojović, 2009, 54–83).

Oblast Potarja u mikrogeolingvističkom pogledu je sa svih strana oivičena govorima koji su kao tipovi relativno opisani u dijalektološkim radovima: 1. govori na desnoj obali rijeke Tare „granične“ se s govorima Pljevalja i bliže okoline, a u svom srednjem i zapadnom dijelu i sami bi se mogli svrstati u govore Pljevalja i šire okoline, koji su karakteristični i po uticaju bosanskih govora i govora muslimana, 2. govori lijeve obale, odnosno govori u srednjem dijelu, drobnjačkog tipa, na jugoistoku prelaze u govore arhaičnijeg „južnijeg“ tipa. Na rubnim područjima, oko izvora i ušća, i s jedne, i s druge strane rijeke Tare, imamo isti dijalekatski tip.

Tako bi se ovi govori u nekom zamišljenom koordinatnom sistemu mogli opisati po horizontalnoj i vertikalnoj osi. Krajnji punktovi na vertikalnoj osi bili bi: Žabljak–Pljevlja, a na horizontalnoj Foča–Kolašin. Horizontalna koordinata je rijeka Tara koja na izvje-

1 „Mešani govori po pravilu imaju drukčiju stratifikaciju crta od prelaznih. Kod ovih prvih slojevitost je horizontalnog tipa (kontaktnog) (ist. D. B.) pa bilo da se radi o prostom tangentnom rasporedu pojedinih elemenata – slučaj kada se može povući izoglosa za deo teritorije govora sa jednom od dvaju mogućih formi, a gde se po pravilu ne javljaju forme obične na drugom dijelu teritorije – i jedna i druga crta imaju kod svojih nosilaca karakter obaveznosti, čime se isključuje druga - kod mešanih govora radi se svakako o koincidenciji većeg broja osobina) – bilo o mrežastom – ekstremni tip ovog drugog je onaj gde granicu nije moguće ni povući jer nosioci i jednog i drugog idioma imaju difuzni raspored na celom prostoru. Živeći izvesno vreme jedni kraj drugih, ali po pravilu nosilac jedne od osobina ne upotrebljava onu drugu (jednostavniji i običniji tip je onaj sa sistemom enklava, jezičkih ostrvaca na jednoj i na drugoj strani granice. U prelaznim govorima slojevi su raspoređeni vertikalno – nosioci oba tipa osobina su iste ličnosti koje poznaju i jednu i drugu formu neke jezičke crte i upotrebljavaju ih nazizmjenično a sa gledišta repartitije jedne i druge radi se o fakultativnosti, tj. o relativizaciji pojedinih fonoloških, morfonoloških i drugih distinkcija. Razvitak mešanih govora ide u pravcu prelaznog tipa (nosioci jedne forme primaju onu drugu, tako da i jedna i druga od obaveznih postaju fakultativne), a prelaznih ili prema stilske diferencijaciji različitih crta (često dolazi do delimičnog ograničenja u repartitiji paralelnih formi uz semantičku ili sintaksičku diferencijaciju), ili pak dolazi do eliminisanja jedne od dveju mogućnosti“.

2 O ovim i sličnim fenomenima v. podrobno u: Jovanović, 2014 a, 139–158.



**Slika 1: Karta ispitivanog područja (Potarje) (Izvor: GIS, baza podataka, Uprava za nekretnine Crne Gore, 2008)**

stan način razdvaja, u srednjem toku, govore desne i lijeve njezine obale. Osim polovina centralnog kruga, s jedne i sa druge strane Tare, svaki preostali punkt, u bilo kojoj tački presjeka, u dijalektološkom smislu nije atipičan.

Sudeći prema krajnjim koordinatama, ovo područje obuhvata nekoliko opština: govorno područje okoline Kolašina pripada i Podgorici, govor komških seljaka je u blizini albanskih sela, a idući nizvodno smjenjuju se opštine: Kolašin, Mojkovac, Žabljak, Pljevlja, dok je krajnji punkt na sjeverozapadu granica prema Repu-

blici Srpskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini. Posjetili smo selo Vranovina posred kojeg je povučena granica između Republike Srpske i Crne Gore. Tik uz granicu, s jedne i druge strane, žive komšije čiji se govor, prirodno, ni u čemu ne razlikuje.

Opseg našeg istraživanja označen je kao area geografskim nazivom *Potarje*, ali se postavlja pitanje percepcije samog pojma, i kako smo već rekli, njegovog značenja. U širem smislu gledano, radi se o relativno velikom prostoru, koji uključuje i donekle dijalektološki istražene oblasti, a i neki punktovi predstavlja-



ju tipove tih govora koje sagledavamo i u odnosu na opisano stanje u monografijama i komparativno, tj. u odnosu na susjedne govore i govore Potarja u cjelini. Mi smo se, sagledavši komparativno situaciju u govorima, opredijelili za oblast naseljenog pojasa uz rijeku Taru, s lijeve i desne strane. Time smo, u izvjesnoj mjeri, racionalizovali predmet istraživanja, ali i lingvogeografski „zaokružili“ ovu oblast.

Iako je nekada na ovom području bilo tek po nekoliko kuća obično razbacanih u kršu i po lukama današnja slika ovog područja nije takva, ili makar nije u nekim selima, kao što je npr. *Đurđevića Tara* na desnoj strani ili *Tepca* na lijevoj, ali ima sela u kojima je odvajkada bilo nekoliko kuća kao što je *Rasova*, s lijeve strane rijeke.

Pravac našeg istraživanja kretao se linijom, (idući od izvora ka ušću rijeke Tare), sela i gradova, na desnoj strani: *Jabuka*, *Han Garančica* (HG), *Mateševo*, *Kolašin* (K), *Rovačko Trebaljevo* (RT), *Bjelojevići*, *Tutići* (T), *Slatina*, *Prošćenje*, *Premćane*, *Đurđevića Tara* (DT), *Lever Tara* (LT), *Zasada* (Z), *Ograđenica* (O), *Meštrevac*, *Vranovina* (Vr); a na lijevoj: *Babljak*, *Bakovići*, *S'ergošće* (S'), *Moračko Trebaljevo* (MT), *Štitarica*, *Podbišće*, *Polja* (P), *Šćepan Polje* (ŠP).

Kanjon Tare je u velikom dijelu nenaseljen, tako i da nemamo neku potpunu liniju naseljenih mjesta, a ta pojava u izvjesnom smislu predstavlja zanimljivost zbog mogućeg značaja izolovanosti i udaljenosti govora na neke njegove osobine.

Pojam *Potarje*, geografski, može imati dvostruko značenje: 1) u širem smislu, kako se obično geografski definiše, podrazumijeva šire područje toka Tare, gdje pripada i međuriječje Tare i Lima, odnosno područje za koje je uobičajen naziv *Zatarje* (Šćepanović, 1979, 5); 2) u užem smislu poima se kao oblast sa lijeve i desne strane rijeke koja u neku ruku predstavlja geolingvističku cjelinu, objedinjenu punktovima i preovladavajućeg govornog tipa, i govornih tipova s kojima se kao geografska oblast graniči.

#### SUGLASNIČKI SISTEM

U odnosu na sistem suglasnika u standardnom srpskom jeziku prisutna je razlika koja je svojstvena i ostalim ijekavskim govorima a to je, prije svega, postojanje dijalekatskih glasova *s'* i *z'*, i sporadičan izostanak suglasnika *h*:<sup>3</sup>

a)	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	b)	<i>s</i>	<i>s'</i>	<i>š</i>	( <i>h</i> )		
	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>		<i>f</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>z'</i>	<i>ž</i>		
c)	<i>c</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>ć</i>	d)	<i>m</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>n</i>	
		<i>dž</i>	<i>đ</i>					<i>lj</i>	<i>nj</i>	<i>j</i>

#### Usnjeni i usneno-zubni suglasnici

##### Odnos *f/v*

U govoru Potarja nedovoljno je izdiferenciran odnos usneno-zubnog suglasnika *f* i dvousnenog sonanta *v* jer se veoma često upotrebljavaju paralelno, a u govoru starijih ljudi preovladavaju oblici sa *v* i oni se mogu smatrati kao arhaično obojeni. Uglavnom su oblici sa *f* porijeklom strane riječi što zapravo znači da je u tom položaju *f* dobijeno iz stranih jezika:

*višek*(P)/*fišek*(DT), *vāmilija*(RT)/*fāmilija*(Pb), *sòvra/sòfra*(Vr), *trèvit/trèfit*(DT), *vānjela/fānjela*(DT, R, K); *jèftino*(DT), *šòver*(DT)/*šòfer*(DT) *kàva*(Pb, S'), *DT/kàfa*(DT), *kavàna*(S')/kafàna(S'), *Vèrdinanda*(P)/*Fèrdinanda*(DT).  
Inače se u dijalektima srpskog jezika veoma rijetko razvija u obrnutom uticaju: *fřba/vřba*(DT). Oblici sa *f* karakteristični su za „nove“ riječi: *pròfisor*(*pròfesor*)(Pr), *ofìcir*(T), *fèbruār*(Pb), *fè*(m) *bruār*(DT), *Filip* (S'), *jèftin*(O).

Govor Jezera i Šaranaca, koji je u susjedstvu ovih govora, ne zna za glas *f*, ali je zabilježen u riječima novijeg datuma (Ostojić, 2016, 152–153).

##### Suglasnik *p*

- Labijalno *p* na početku riječi ispred zubnog eksplozivnog glasa *t* ispada: b) Takođe, ispada ispred prednjenepčanog frikativnog *š* i prednjenepčane afrikate *č*: *čèla* (DT, MT), *šènica*(Vr), *šenica*(K).
- U sredini riječi *p* prelazi u sonant *v* ispred afrikate *č*: *kòvča* (:kòpča), *zakòvčati* (:zakòpčati) (DT, Z, S').

##### Suglasnik *v*

Mogućnost realizacije sonanta *v* redukovana je u odnosu na standardni jezik u susjedstvu nekih konsonanata (najčešće mekih ali ne samo njih). Često dolazi do njegovog gubljenja, bilo ispred, bilo iza konsonanata, kao i nekim suglasničkim grupama (Jovanović, 2014b, 67).

- Suglasnik *v* gubi se ispred *j* (<ě) u grupama *cvj* (<cvě), pa nalazimo jotovane oblike: *Čètko*(T), *pročètati*(DT) (*procvljètati*), *iščètati*<sup>4</sup> (DT, RT); *svj* (<svě): *s'edočanstvo* (*svljedočanstvo*) (DT), *Čètko*(T), *pročètati*(DT) (*procvljètati*), *pos'edòčiti* (Vr; T, P) (*posvljedòčiti*), dok u grupi *dvj* (<dvě) imamo epententsko *l* koje se jotuje: *dvljèma*(Pb), *dvljèsta* (GD).
- Ispred *j* *v* se gubi: 1) na početku riječi: *jèverica*(GD) (:vljèverica), 2) u leksemi *čovjek*: *čoèka*(Vr; Pb),

3 O suglasniku *h* i njegovom statusu u ovom govoru vidjeti detaljno u: Bojović, 2008b, 89–99.

4 Oblik nastao nakon gubljenja *v*, jekavskog jotovanja i asimilacije suglasnika po zvučnosti i mjestu tvorbe: *iz+cvjetati>iscjetati>iščetati*.



č<sup>o</sup>ek (P). Nestabilnost sonanta *v* ispred *j* poznata je u ovoj leksemi na širem prostoru i „ustalila se u obliku č<sup>o</sup>jek – sa različitim varijetetima izgovora *j*, što može dovesti do potpunog njegovog gubljenja: č<sup>o</sup>(v)jek“ (Jovanović, 2014b, 68), 3) kao i ispred *lj*: kr<sup>l</sup>jaču(GD), p<sup>o</sup>stalj<sup>o</sup> (Vr). Njegova artikulacija ispred *j* nestabilna je pa je moglo da se izgubi i prije gubljenja *j* u ovoj poziciji i sličnim pozicijama.

- c) Suglasnik *v* gubi se u riječi mrtvac: m<sup>r</sup>tac (DT), m<sup>r</sup>ca (GD), a katkad u riječi svr<sup>ā</sup>b : sr<sup>ā</sup>b (GD), ōsr<sup>ā</sup>b<sup>o</sup> (P).
- d) Grupa *kv* uproštena je u rječci k<sup>ā</sup>kvi i pokaznoj zamjenici t<sup>ā</sup>kva, onakva: ma k<sup>ā</sup>ki(GD), k<sup>ā</sup>ki(K), t<sup>ā</sup>kē (DT), (o)n<sup>ā</sup>ka( LT). Objašnjenje za ovu pojavu može se naći ne samo u težnji za gubljenjem konsonatskog materijala, nego i morfološkom perspektivom, tj. vezivanjem za kvalifikativne zamjenice (Jovanović, 2014b, 67), kao i za oblik rječce *kaki*.

### Dentali

Dentalni plozivi *d* i *t* su veoma nestabilne artikulacije u raznim pozicijama u riječima i sintaksemama, kako je i u većini narodnih govora.

- a) U krajnjem *st* okluziva se uglavnom ne čuva: r<sup>ā</sup>d<sup>o</sup>s (O), m<sup>l</sup>l<sup>o</sup>s(ŠP), pr<sup>ē</sup>d<sup>n</sup>ōs (Vr), m<sup>l</sup>ā<sup>d</sup>ōs (Vr, DT), k<sup>r</sup>š (GD, ŠP), vl<sup>ā</sup>s (GD, RT), sv<sup>i</sup>j<sup>e</sup>s (Z, O), li<sup>č</sup>nōs (RT), st<sup>ā</sup>r<sup>o</sup>s (RT), b<sup>o</sup>l<sup>ē</sup>s (RT).
- b) Prema odnosu u standardnom jeziku -stan/-sna, analogijom prema ženskom rodu gdje je *t* ispalo ispred *n*, u muškom rodu upotrebljavaju se oblici bez *t*: ž<sup>ā</sup>l<sup>o</sup>san, sv<sup>j</sup>ē<sup>o</sup>san, m<sup>ā</sup>san, r<sup>ā</sup>d<sup>o</sup>san (S', DR, Vr, Z, R, T), b<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>san (RT), m<sup>i</sup>l<sup>o</sup>san (DT).
- c) Imamo i gubljenje *t* u infinitivnom nastavku -(s)ti, mada veoma rijetko i više na području prelaznih govora, u infinitivu koje bilježi Vušović (1927, 32): m<sup>ū</sup>s (HG), kr<sup>ā</sup>s (K), ū<sup>o</sup>kras (GD).

Slični procesi odvijaju se u santhiju:

- a) Suglasnik *d* ispada u predlozima *pod*, *ispod*, *pred*, *ispred* i *od*, ispred riječi koje počinju dentalima *d* i *t*: p<sup>o</sup> d<sup>r</sup>en<sup>o</sup>m (LT), isp<sup>o</sup> tora(DT), pr<sup>e</sup> t<sup>ē</sup>ras<sup>o</sup>m (K), isp<sup>re</sup> d<sup>o</sup>vratnika (Z), o d<sup>ē</sup>vetn<sup>ē</sup>s (GD), o š<sup>ē</sup>set (P), o d<sup>v</sup>ādes (GD), i u prilogu ō<sup>d</sup>d<sup>o</sup> (LT) (od<sup>o</sup>z<sup>d</sup>o).
- b) Dental *d* se ne čuje ispred suglasnika *k* i *g* kod predloga *pred* i *ispred*: pr<sup>ē</sup> ku<sup>u</sup> (LT), pr<sup>ē</sup>ku<sup>ā</sup>(DT), isp<sup>re</sup> k<sup>o</sup>libe (T). Gubi se i ispred suglasnika *g*: pr<sup>e</sup> gl<sup>ā</sup>v<sup>o</sup>m(K), p<sup>o</sup> gl<sup>ā</sup>vu(T). Zabilježili smo i gubljenje ispred *p*: pr<sup>e</sup> p<sup>o</sup>pa(GD).

- c) Pošto afrikate *č* i *đ* u svom glasovnom sklopu imaju suglasnike *t* i *d*, oni se ispred njih, a na kraju predloga i u nekim spojevima, ne artikuliraju: pr<sup>ē</sup> đ<sup>u</sup>rđ<sup>ē</sup>v dan (DT), isp<sup>re</sup> č<sup>o</sup>ška (GD), k<sup>o</sup>-đ<sup>ē</sup>vera(DT), k<sup>o</sup>-Č<sup>o</sup>sovi<sup>ā</sup> (LT), s<sup>ā</sup> č<sup>e</sup> (S')(sad č<sup>e</sup>), s<sup>ā</sup> č<sup>u</sup> (GD). Tako je i ispred afrikate *dž*: k<sup>o</sup> dž<sup>ā</sup>ka (DT), pr<sup>ē</sup> dž<sup>ā</sup>darima(P), isp<sup>o</sup> dž<sup>ā</sup>de (DT, S'). Gubljenje je fakultativno i zavisi od tempa i intenziteta govora, uobičajenosti sintakseme, itd.
- d) Kada se nađe pred riječima koje počinju zubnim strujnim glasovima *s* i *z*, kao i zubnim frikativnim *š* i *ž*, krajnje *d* ispada: pr<sup>ē</sup> sm<sup>r</sup>t (GD), ko Š<sup>o</sup>j<sup>e</sup> (DT), k<sup>o</sup> zub<sup>ā</sup>ra (S',HG), isp<sup>o</sup> staj<sup>ē</sup> (DT), isp<sup>re</sup> st<sup>ā</sup>'e (O), pr<sup>ē</sup> z<sup>ī</sup>d (Vr), pr<sup>ē</sup> ž<sup>b</sup>un (Z), isp<sup>re</sup> Š<sup>o</sup>la (DT), kao i u nekim spojevima: k<sup>ā</sup> su (LT) (kad su), s<sup>ā</sup>su (DT) (sad su) (LT).
- e) Slične učestalosti i u sličnim fonološkim uslovima je gubljenje dentalne okluzive *t* u riječima koje čine akcenatsku cjelinu sa sljedećim riječima. Takve je prirode gubljenje *t* kod brojeva<sup>5</sup> *pet*, *devet* i *deset*: des<sup>ē</sup> br<sup>ā</sup>va (DT), des<sup>ē</sup> k<sup>ī</sup>l<sup>ā</sup> (MT), p<sup>ē</sup> god<sup>ī</sup>n<sup>ā</sup> (DT), p<sup>ē</sup> d<sup>ā</sup>n<sup>ā</sup> (LT), dev<sup>ē</sup> str<sup>v</sup>in<sup>ā</sup> (DT). Ispadanje se događa i u složenim brojevima: ped<sup>ēs</sup> br<sup>ā</sup>v<sup>ā</sup> (LT), dv<sup>ā</sup>es (S',MT), š<sup>ē</sup>se g<sup>o</sup>d<sup>ī</sup>n<sup>ā</sup> (K), ped<sup>ēs</sup> d<sup>ā</sup>n<sup>ā</sup> (GD), dv<sup>ā</sup>est<sup>o</sup>ro (GD), ped<sup>ēs</sup> (K,P), kao i u spojevima brojeva kojima se izražava neodređena vrijednost: p<sup>ē</sup>š<sup>ēs</sup> (LT). Ako je broj nosilac akcenta onda *t* ostaje: d<sup>ēs</sup>et t<sup>d</sup>ā<sup>n</sup>a (Vr), d<sup>ē</sup>vet đ<sup>ē</sup>v<sup>o</sup>jak<sup>ā</sup> (O), p<sup>ēt</sup> zm<sup>i</sup>j<sup>ā</sup> (DT), mada se osjeća izvjesna redukcija. U brojeva š<sup>ēs</sup>et (š<sup>ē</sup>z<sup>d</sup>eset), č<sup>ē</sup>teres (č<sup>ē</sup>tr<sup>d</sup>eset) *d* je ispalo disimilacijom prema *t*. U sredini riječi između vokala *d* nestaje: dv<sup>ā</sup>es(LT), tr<sup>i</sup>es(GD).
- f) Do gubljenja ploziva dolazi na kraju predloga koji je srastao u složenicu: p<sup>o</sup>z<sup>i</sup>da (ŠP), pr<sup>ēs</sup>'ed<sup>n</sup>ik (DT,RT,O), pr<sup>ē</sup>st<sup>ā</sup>viti se (DT), pr<sup>ē</sup>st<sup>ā</sup>vio se (GD), naž<sup>i</sup>v<sup>l</sup>jeti (DT), oš<sup>ē</sup>tati (ŠP), oč<sup>ē</sup>piti (RT), oc<sup>i</sup>j<sup>ē</sup>piti (DT,Vr). Ovi glasovi su postojani na kraju prefiksa gdje se čuva značenje riječi: p<sup>o</sup>t<sup>u</sup>kn<sup>j</sup>ica (GD), p<sup>o</sup>gd<sup>o</sup>niti (Vr), p<sup>o</sup>p<sup>ē</sup>titi (ŠP).
- g) Redovno je gubljenje ispred nastavka -stvo: g<sup>o</sup>sp<sup>o</sup>stvo (Vr), br<sup>ā</sup>stvo (T), l<sup>j</sup>ust<sup>va</sup> (HG), sr<sup>ē</sup>stv<sup>i</sup>ma (RT), a kada se nađe ispred pridjevske nastavka -ski, stapajući se sa *s*, nakon asimilacije po zvučnosti, daje afrikatu *c*: s<sup>u</sup>ck<sup>i</sup> (DT), br<sup>ā</sup>ck<sup>i</sup> (HG), krv<sup>ā</sup>ck<sup>i</sup> (ŠP), l<sup>j</sup>uck<sup>a</sup> (DT,P), m<sup>i</sup>l<sup>ē</sup>ck<sup>i</sup> (RT), gr<sup>ā</sup>ck<sup>o</sup> (LT).
- h) U primjerima s osnovom od glagola *vidjeti* i *gleđati* gubi se *d*, a potom nastaje asimilacija i sažimanje vokala. Sličnu pojavu imamo i kod broja *jedan*. d<sup>ā</sup>viš (DT) i viš nn<sup>ē</sup>što (Vr), p<sup>o</sup>gl<sup>ā</sup>j (DT), j<sup>ē</sup>ne r<sup>ē</sup>de (LT), j<sup>ē</sup>ne b<sup>ū</sup>le (LT), j<sup>ē</sup>an (DT). Oblici j<sup>ē</sup>an, j<sup>ē</sup>na karakteristični su za bosanske govore i govor

5 Jovanović (2014b, 93) navodi da se ne može dati pouzdan zaključak u načinu prevazilaženja izgovora suglasničkih grupa *d*, *t* + srodni suglasnik u pozicijama santhija, pa „ostaje da prenesemo jednu uočljivu tendenciju: do gubljenja istih ili srodnih dodirnih suglasnika mnogo teže dolazi kada su susjedne riječi neenklitične, kada se svaka od njih posebno izgovra i u slučajevima kada smisao zahtijeva da oba glasa treba izgovoriti. Zato i ne čudi činjenica da je kod brojeva *pet*, *šest*, *devet* i *deset* koje imaju osobinu da iz sfere samostalno izgovorenih riječi pređu u proklitike gubljenje krajnjeg *t* i najdosljednije“.

muslimana odakle su se proširili, u malom obimu, i na govor pravoslavnog življa.<sup>6</sup>

- i) Suglasnik *t* gubi se ispred *n*: *dirěkno* (K), *direkno* (ĐT, Pb).<sup>7</sup>
- j) Konsonant *t* gubi se na kraju riječi: *jõpe*.
- k) Suglasnik *d* gubi se unutar riječi: *názornik* (K).
- l) Sekundarno *d*, u službi partikule, imamo u primjerima: *prijed* (K), *pòslijed* (K). Ovi su oblici karakteristični za prelazne govore.
- m) Suglasnik *d* zamjenjuje sa *j* i *đ* u priložima i rječama: *kùj* (Z, O, ĐT), *kùj ćeš* (ĐT), *kùj god* (RT), *štò gođ* (P).
- n) Supstitucija *d-t* uobičajena je pojava kod imenice *kómad* : *kómata* (Z, O, Vr, P), *kòmat* (ĐT), *komàtić* (GD, RT).
- o) Jedna od upadljivih osobina u području miješanih govora, ali i onih područja gdje žive muslimani, jeste *geminacija* u grupama *dn*, *dñj* : *glàнна* (LT), *zànjnjī* (Vr). Grupa *dn* očuvana je u oblicima prezenta glagola *čuti*: *čùdnēm*<sup>8</sup> (ĐT), *čùdnū* (LT).

Ova osobina je izražena u govorima muslimana u istočnobosanskim govorima (Jahić, 2002, 191) koji se i „graniče“ sa govorima Potarja, ali je od muslimana primaju i pravoslavni. Ova izoglosa poznata je bosanskim govorima, smatra se kompaktnom u istočnobosanskom govoru, na prostoru između gornjih tokova Drine i Bosne (Jahić, 2002, 158–159). Međutim, i u govoru muslimana ova osobina slabi udaljavanjem područja od istočnobosanskih govora (Peco, 1964, 190–191). Inače, proučavanjem ove izoglose na slovenskom terenu bavio se Jahić,<sup>9</sup> dovodeći je u vezu sa međujezičkim kontaktima. Na takvo njeno porijeklo uticala je konfesionalna ograničenost na govor muslimana, kao sistemske osobine, i na ostale govore, kao nesistemske (Jahić, 2002, 161).

Vuković prisustvo geminacije objašnjava kao proces nastao u okvirima religiozno-obrednih manifestacija i emocionalnim vezivanjem muslimana za značenje primarnih riječi (Vuković, 1963, 157–172).

Jahić, međutim, konstatuje da „slovenske geminate i na mikro-arealu nastaju ne kao rezultat vanjskih jezičkih uticaja već kao unutarstemska mogućnost koja se na jednom terenu ostvaruje, a na drugom – jednostavno ne ostvaruje. U tom smislu, npr. jedna Žepa, kompaktna muslimanska zona, sa sačuvanim elementima izvorne narodne kulture, decenijama skoro odsječena od

rogatičke i višegradske čaršije, ima geminatu kao strukturnu osobinu“ (Jahić, 2002, 161).

### Nazali

- a) Ispred nekih suglasnika imamo promjenu *m* u *n*, tj. delabijalizaciju glasa *m* u santhiju i unutar riječi:<sup>10</sup> *mòlīn te* (ĐT), *kúmīn te* (S'), *kònsija* (LT), *ùnče* (ĐT) (:ùmače). To se događa i u paradigmi: *kínka* (ĐT) (:kímak). Suprotno, u pozicijama *n + b*, *p* čuje se glas *m*: *zelēmbač* (RT), *jedām brav* (Vr), *jedāmpuť*<sup>11</sup> (ŠP):
- b) Neutralizovana je opozicija suglasnika *n* i *m* u pretkonsonantskoj poziciji, iza vokala: *Anka* (ĐT), *bánka* (T, ŠP), *Srbijánka* (Vr), *džumbus* (ĐT), *zūmbul* (LT) *pántīm* (ŠP, RT), *sedandēset* (MT).

Za ovakve postvokalske pozicije Čupić (1977, 51) konstatuje da „daju utisak da je prethodni samoglasnik nazalizovan, a u stvari, radi se o kombinatoričnim varijantama, a ne o supstituciji ovih suglasnika ili nazalizaciji vokala pred njima“, a Pešikan (1965, 115) ističe tendenciju gubljenja suglasničkog elementa, ali se nazalni element čuva i obuhvata imploziju sljedećeg suglasnika i skoro redovno – u izvjesnoj mjeri cio prethodni samoglasnik (*banka*).

Redukovana artikulacija *n* ispred suglasnika prisutna je i u standardnom jeziku.

- c) Suglasnik *n* gubi se u nekim riječima: *finàsist* (RT) (:finansist).
- d) Suglasnička grupa *mn* ima sljedeće promjene:
  - 1) *mn > ml*: *mlògo* (RT), *mložina* (ĐT), *umlòžilo* (LT), *nàjamlīk* (ĐT), *sedāmlēs*, *osāmlēs* (ĐT). Posljednji oblici su veoma rijetki. U govorima se sreće oblik *mlim* (:mislim): *jā mlīm* (ĐT, RT).
  - 2) *mn > vn*: *òbravnica*<sup>12</sup> (RT, ŠP), *gùvno* (ŠP). Promjena je manje prisutna ako je osjećanje granice sloga jače vezano za značenja opšteg dijela i sufiksa: *zimnīca* (HG), *slāmnica* (GD).
  - 3) *mlj > mnj*: *súmlja* (ĐT), *dìmljaka* (LT) i *ml j > ml:mùmljā* (T).
- e) Izgovor stranih riječi sa umetnutim *m* i *n* prisutan je u govorima: *šēnšīr* (GD, S'), *šēmšīr* (ŠP, ĐT), *fēmbruār* (LT), *kòmendija* (ĐT), *policinskī* (S'), *istòrinskī* (RT, T), *aùstrinskōga* (P). Kod pridjeva može biti u pitanju analogija prema prisvojnim pridjevima na *-in*: *pártijin*, *istòrijin*.

6 Lever Tara je (LT) je selo u kojem žive muslimani i u tom pogledu predstavljalo govornu enklavu, a Vranovina (Vr) je selo pravoslavnog življa na granici između Crne Gore i Bosne i Hercegovine.

7 Primjeri se prozodijski razlikuju, pa se stoga ponavljaju.

8 Oblici su mogli nastati analogijom prema oblicima iz narodnih govora: *budnem* i *bidnem* – od glagola *biti*. Sela Đurđevića Tara (ĐT) i Lever Tara (LT) su sela u susjedstvu; u prvom žive pravoslavci, u drugom muslimani.

9 Jahić (1984, 75–92) (na primjerima sonantne geminacije *dn > nn*, *dñj > njnj*; *dl > ll* u dijalektima slovenskih jezika).

10 Jovanović (2014–2015) analizira ovu pojavu u durmitorskim govorima, praveći razliku u odnosu na primorske crnogorske govore u kojima je i kraj riječi obuhvaćen prelaskom *m* u *n*.

11 Pešikan (1965, 115) detaljno opisuje redukciju nazala, pa, na primjer, između ostalih pozicionih varijanti, za ovaj slučaj kaže: „Jezik po pravilu ne dodiruje alveole; usljed nazalne implozije usnenog suglasnika akustički utisak je bliži glasu *m* nego *n*: *zelenbač*, *jedanput*“.

12 Vuković (1938–1939, 40) pretpostavlja gubljenje veze sa riječju *ramo* i asocijativnu vezanost sa riječju *brav*.

- f) U riječima *nàkom-nàkon* (ŠP), *odàlen-odalem* (Vr), *òklen-òklem* (DT), naizmjenično se upotrebljavaju nazali *m* i *n*, ali je isključivo *òtlen* (Z, O) i *otàlen* (Pr, DT).
- g) Uopšten je nastavak *-nja* kod nekih imenica ženskog roda: *tášnja* (Vr, S'), *mášnja* (DT).
- h) U nekim primjerima imamo sekundarno *n* koje je često partikula: *tàden* (S'), *òklen* (GD), *odàlen* (DT), *nùdan* (P). Ispadanjem finalnog *e* i sažimanjem i duljenjem dvaju *e* u medijalnoj poziciji mogli smo dobiti *ènēn* (DT). Oblik je mogao nastati od izraza *ene, en(e)*, koji je čest u govoru i upotrebljava se prilikom iščudavanja: *>eneen>ènēn*.
- i) Uobičajen oblik u govorima je *nòp-stòp* (*non stop*) (Vr), *nòpstop* (DT), u kojima je *n* zamijenjeno sa *p*.

### Likvide *l*, *lj*, *r*

- a) Na kraju riječi i sloga *l* se čuva uz analošku podršku drugih oblika: *tòpal* (Vr), *òbal* (RT), *bijel* (DT), *vàl* (DT), *vèl* (ŠP), *ùmilno* (S'). Odnos *-lac/-oca* eliminisan je, izuzev u primjerima: *kòlac/kò(l)ca* (ispred *l* imamo *o*). U množini je: *kòlčevi*, *kòčevi* (S', Pb). Kod pridjeva je *vreo*, *truo*, *go* ali i: *bijel*, *topal/topao*, *cio/cijel* (RT, S', LT). Do analoškog obnavljanja *l* dolazi iza *a* i iza refleksa dugog *ě*, jer je ovdje udaljšavanje od osnovnog oblika najizrazitije.
- b) Likvida *l* gubi se u primjerima: *bóna*, *bóno* (*bólan*, *bólna*) (DT).
- c) Iza vokalnog *r* prelazi u *o*: *ùtrò* (DT), *sàtrò* (ŠP) *nàkrò* (*nakrati*) (DT, GD), *vřò* (P) (*<vrhao*), u muškom rodu jednine radnog glagolskog pridjeva. Iza *e* prelazi u *o*: *kis'eo* (LT, DT), *àndeo* (*:àndijo*) (RT, T), *Aràndeo* (*:Aàrandjel*) (DT).
- d) U mijesanim govorima imamo oblike sa redukovanim *l*: *miš'ite* (O, Vr). Inače je redukcija, pa i gubljenje ovog glasa karakteristično za glagol *misлити* i u drugim područjima Potarja: *miš'im* (DT, RT).
- e) Katkada u govorima dolazi do supstitucije suglasnika *lj* glasom *j*: *šúpje* (ŠP), *šúplje* (Vr), *òpjačkati* (*:opljačkati*) (DT), *gróbje* (*:gróblje*) (T), *izbjēn>izbijen* (*:izbljen*) od glagola *izbiti*, u značenju *istučiti* (DT). Oblici nastali kao rezultat starog i novog jotovanja suglasnika *p* i *b* podliježu destabilizaciji (Jovanović, 2014, 95-96). Umjesto *Skòplje* često je *Skòpje*.
- f) Vokalno *r* imamo u primjerima: *ùmrò* (Pr), *prèmrò* (ŠP), *pòtrò* (DT), *Pótrò mu svù njǐvu s gòvedima*, *Zàmrò mu svàki dàmar* (DT).
- g) Pravilna distribucija vibranta *r*, poremećena je u prezentu glagola *moći* (Jovanović, 2014, 60). Suglasnik *ž* prelazi u *r* veoma često: *mòre* (RT, O).
- h) Sekundarno *r*, koje ima funkciju partikule imamo u primjerima: *tádār* (P), *òndār* (GD, RT), *onùdār* (DT). Krajnje *r* u *èner* vjerovatno je analoškog porijekla prema: *tàdar*, *òndar*, *tùdar*, *onùdar*.

### Suglasnici *s'* i *z'*

Ovi glasovi upotrebljavaju se u narodnim govorima Crne Gore, i ne samo u njima. Njihovu artikulaciju opisao je Danilo Vušović ispitujući govor istočne Hercegovine (Vušović, 1927, 16). Izgleda da se ova dva glasa obrazuju na istom mjestu gdje i suglasnici *ć* i *đ*, a palatalizovanjem su dobili drukčiju modifikaciju izgovora na taj način što se vrh jezika, od mjesta artikulacije *s* i *z* pomjera malo naviše i unazad, a prednji dio jezika više se približava alveolama i nepcima, te tako čini tješnji prolaz vazdušnoj struji tako da frikativnost, usljed većeg trenja vazduha, postaje ekspresivnija, ali ne toliko jaka da bi zvuk postao šuštav. Za razliku od artikulacije *ć* i *đ* pri čemu zadnji dio vrha jezika dodiruje prednje nepce čime se stvara eksplozija, prilikom izgovora *s'* i *z'* ne javlja se eksplozija, zadnji dio vrha jezika ne dodiruje nepce već je dodir razdvojen vazdušnom strujom (Vuković, 1938-1939, 44). Uostalom, *s'* i *z'* su spiranti, a *ć* i *đ* afrikate.

- a) Glas *s'* dobijen u procesu jekavskog jotovanja imamo u primjerima: *s'èda* (S', HG), *s'èkira* (DT, Vr, T), *s'èdī* (S'), *s'edī* (K), *s'èra* (DT), *s'edòčiću* (S'), *pres'èdela* (S'), *s'èdnice* (K), *sús'ednih* (MT), *s'èdio* (Z, O), *prés'ednicima* (RT), *s'èkli* (Vr).
- b) Glas *s'* dobijen u neposrednom dodiru sa *j* koje nije od *jata* već od *ǐj*, imamo u primjerima: *pàs'ǐ(S')*, *pàs'a brùka* (LT, Vr, T), *s'akti se* (DT), *pròs'āk*, *pros'ākinja*, *ss'ùtra* (*ali:klasje*, *osje*) (RT), *sù'tri dan* (Z, O). Vuković (1939-1939, 45) konstatuje da se *-je* osjeća kao produktivan nastavak za obrazovanje zbirnih imenica te tako čuva granicu sloga. Čupić (1977, 43), međutim, bilježi: *klás'e*, *ós'e*. Ako se između *s* i *j* nađe *v* u primjerima ovoga tipa, onda dolazi do redukcije glasa *v* i jotovanja: *s'èt* (*<sávjet*) (T, RT), *s'èdok* (ŠP, S'), *s'èdodžba* (RT), *s'ètovati* (Pb). Međutim, neke knjiške riječi čuvaju *v*: *svjètlost*, *svjètica*, *svjèsan*.
- c) U govorima srećemo oblike dobijene asimilacijom po mjestu tvorbe ispred *ć* i *đ*: *is'ćerati*, *is'đeteline*. Takve primjere bilježe Vušović (1927, 17), Čupić (1977, 44) i Pešikan (1965, 110). Bilježimo primjere u kojima je šuštavi frikativni glas malo umekšan narednim mekim *ć* i *ć* onako kako bi se umekšalo svako obično *š* i *ž* ispred mekog glasa: *iš'ćerati* (RT, DT), *iž'đeteline* (P), *iž'ljùbiti* (Vr), *čàš'ćen* (O, DT).
- d) Ovaj glas javlja se u individualnim hipokorističkim i ostalim obrazovanjima: *Bús'a* (DT), *S'óla* (ŠP), *Pés'o* (GD), *Mis'a* (O, DT), *Más'a* (Vr), *Mäs'a* (K). Imamo ga u izrazima za vabljenje stoke: *s'oks-* *s'òks*, *s'ika*, *kis'-kis'*, *s'oli-s'oli*. Sreće se u riječima koje označavaju podozrenje, gnjev, mržnju ili ironiju: *Kàko je mùs'avo* (DT), *S'úma je tò vèlika* (DT), *Šta tò rádiš*, *Dàs'ko?* (DT)?



- e) Upotreba suglasnika *z'* mnogo je rjeđa: *iz'esti*(ŠP), *iz'elica*(Vr), *iz'eli* (T).

Vušović (1927, 1927, 45) pravi razliku u „osjećaju“ složenosti ovih riječi: *j* iz riječi *jesti* ponaša se kao *j* od kratkog *ē* (*io-jeo*) pa se u složenicama kod kojih drugi dio počinje ovim *j* gubila granica sloga, dok se čuvala u složenicama kod kojih je drugi dio počinjao običnim *j*, što upućuje na zaključak da se jotovanje ovih glasova vršilo još prije zamjene kratkog *ē* sa *je* – još dok je *ē* bilo diftonškog karaktera, pa je prvi zatvoreniji element tog glasa mogao, prije prelaska u *j* umekšati prethodni glas. Čupić (1977, 43) ističe odnos *iz+je:iz+ja* i to da se u *iz'esti* i *izjednačiti* radi o istoj granici sloga kao u primjeru *izjedna*. Moguće je pretpostaviti da se radi o semantici glagola *iz'esti* i gubljenju značenja prefiksacije. Naime, osnovni glagol *jesti* može biti i završenog, i nesvršenog vida. Glagol *iz'esti* označava završenu radnju, pa imamo odnos *jijedemm*: *iz'edem* (*pojedom*).

Međutim, kod Vušovića nalazimo i *iz'jednačiti* i *iz'edna* koji danas arhaično zvuče i na tim prostorima.

U ovim govorima imamo oblike *koz'i*, *kođi*, *koz'i*, *kođavina*, *uđati*, a oblici *koz'i*, *koz'avina* karakteristika su južnijih govora: starocrnogorskih i govora Bjelopavlića. U Pivi i Drobnojaku (Vuković, 1938–1939, 45) prisutno je *kođi*, *kođavina*, *uđati* (:uzjati-uzjahati).

### Afrikate

- a) Iako je *i* inače leksički ograničen glas *z* (*dz*) skoro da izostaje na ovom području, izuzev u nekim individualnim obrazovanjima, u tepanju, obično upućenom djeci: *dózi* (:dóđi), *zàvole* (:đavole), i sl.
- b) U govoru muslimana u Potarju nije prisutno nerazlikovanje afrikatskih parova *đ:dž*, *ć:č*: samo je *džámija*, *čáršija* (LT). Inače, neerazlikovanje parova afrikata u većin i govora muslimana u istočno-bosanskim govorima odvaja ih od istočnohercegovačkih u kojem govor muslimama razlikuje te parove.
- c) Afrikate *ć* i *đ* prelaze u *j*: *sinoj*, *òj*, *gòj* (*i gòđ*), *nòj* (*ónđe*), *vòj* (*vóđe* i *óvđe*), *nòj* (*nóć*), *něj* (*néćeš*) (DT, LT, S').
- d) Afrikata *c* zamijenjena je svojim eksplozivnim elementom: *tèsta* (DT) (:cèsta), ili afrikatom *č*: *prebāčiču* (K). Zabilježili smo i supstituciju s *sa* c: *pcùjem*<sup>13</sup>(M).

### O suglasniku j

Opštedijalekatska osobina govora srpskog jezika je nestabilna artikulacija glasa *j*. U upotrebi ovog glasa sjeverniji govori Crne Gore razlikuju se od južnijih, naročito od tzv. *starocrnogorskih*.

- a) Na početku riječi *j* se dobro čuva: *jòš*, *jáviti*, *jùtro* (u sintagmi *dobro jutro j* je redukovane artikulacije). Ovakav izgovor prisutan je na cijelom području.
- b) Ispred vokala *e* u izvjesnim riječima *j* se dobro čuva na čitavom području: *jěž*, *jěvtino*, *jěverica*, *jedínak*, *jédina*. U oblicima glagola *jesam*, obično u upitnim rečenicama, kad ovaj oblik nije naglašen *j* se ne čuva, ali se čuva u iskazima gdje je riječ posebno naglašena i gdje riječ čini rečenicu: *E li dòšō? Jěs* (ali i: *Es dā*). Inače, oblik *es* prisutan je u govorima okoline Nikšića, u Banjanima. U „spontanijem“ govoru *j* se ne čuje: *Pòšō ja èdnom ū Pljevlja* (DT), *Imā èdno desétak dānā* (ŠP), ...*ima èdnu* (GD). U širokoj upotrebi je *jòpět* i *jòpe*, pored *òpet* (P, LT, RT).
- c) Gubljenje suglasnika *j* u drugim pozicijama u riječi zavisi od glasovnog skupa u kome se nalazi.
- 1) *j* se dobro čuva između „tvrdih“ vokala: *újam* (Vr), *pròdāju* (DT). Na području prelaznih govora *j* se ne čuje usljed prozodijskih uslova: *sastāu* (K), *reprodukkūu*(K).
  - 2) Između palatalnih vokala *i* i *e* *j* je nestabilno: *něednom*(P), *sfi'e*(P), u *kra'eve* (P), *zb'i'e* (P), *zà'edno*(S), *rádn'i'e* (K), *dvij'i'e* (LT), *b'i'e*(S') , *m'i'e*(Vr), *đ'e* (RT).
  - 3) Između dva ista palatalna vokala vokal *j* ispada i dolazi do kontrakcije: *itrī* (ŠP), *čī,nīčī* (DT), *siromāšnī* (S'), *zadrītī* (MT), *Srbii* (Vr), *najvāžnijī* (GD), *kòme'ie* (S'), *đé'ie* (RT), *rānie'ie* (RT). U posljednjoj grupi primjera sažimanje je nepotpuno.
- d) Između tvrdih i palatalnih i između palatalnih i tvrdih vokala *j* se pomalo gubi i čuje se onoliko koliko je potrebno za prelaz artikulacije od tvrdog ka palatalnom vokalu i obrnuto, dok se između tvrdih vokala *i*, *e*, i obrnuto, skoro gubi: *kāžuēm* (DT), *zāednica* (LT), *zā'edno* (S'), *tròe* (ŠP), *tvòega* (T), *Děān* (DT), *Rādoe* (ŠP), *Spāsōe* (DT), *kò'e* (S'), *tò'e* (P), *móro'ie* (GD), *dvò'e* (GD), *tàko'ie* (GD), *bò'e* se (LT), *postòe* (S'), *prisvo'e*(S'). U riječima s prefiksima bolje se čuva osjećanje za morfološku granicu: *prejáviti*, *ùjesti*.
- e) Iako mu između *o* i *i* ima mjesta po fonetskom sastavu riječi, *j* je veoma nestabilno: *obòica*, *bròim* (GD), *kròiti* (T), *dvòicu* (GD, LT), *òbo'i se* (LT), *kò'i* (K, RT), *trò'ica* (Z, O), *bò'im se* (RT). Nasuprot prethodnim primjerima, u obrnutoj poziciji *j* se čuje, iako mu tu fonetski nema mjesta: *bìjo* (K, M, RT, HG, S'), *obòlijo* (S'), *s'edòčijo* (DT), *rādijo*(RT), *fijòrin* (S'), *pòpuštijo* (RT), *milijóna* (RT), *penzijòner* (RT), *oženijo* (RT).
- f) Između *a* i *i* čuje se *j* nešto pasivnije artikulacije: *ne zaf'ika'i* (Pb), *pròda'i* (ŠP), *ùda'i* (DT), *ùda'* (DT), *pròda'* (LT).

<sup>13</sup> Afrikatizacija nije zabilježena u durmitorskim govorima (Jovanović, 2014, 98). Zabilježena je u nekim crnogorskim govorima zetsko-raškog tipa.

- g) Između *a* i *e* glas *j* se slabije čuje: *ù kra'ëve* (*P*), *štà'ë* (*G*, *S'*), *Sàra'ëvo* (*Vr*), *néma'ë* (*Vr*), *ràn'ë'e* (*RT*).
- h) Između *u* i *e*, takode, *j* se slabije čuje: *interes'ë* (*RT*).
- i) Između *i* i *a* imamo još pasivniju artikulaciju: *Mil'ja* (*K*), *nič'ja* (*M*), *č'ja* (*S'*).
- j) Iza tvrdih vokala, a ispred konsonanata, *j* se čuva: *ne bôj'te se* (*K*), *záj'miti*, *němoj'te* (*DT*) (*němo-te*).
- k) Gubi se iza mekih glasova: *něli* (*M*) (*nej li*, *nećeš li*), a česti su primjeri gdje se *j* od sufiksa *je* gubi poslije *č* i *ž*: *náruče* (*S'*), *bôža* (*DT*) (*bôžja*), *òbilježe* (*Vr*).
- l) Supstituiše se sa *n* veoma često: *kòmšinski* (*Pb*), *ràkinski* (*DT*), *istòrinski* (*LT*, *T*).
- m) Vrijednost partikule *j* ima u primjerima: *òndāj* (*S'*, *LT*, *MT*), *túj* (*LT*, *DT*, *MT*, *Z*, *O*, *S'*), *mógaj* (*RT*).

### Neka analoška pomjeranja u refleksima glasovnih promjena

#### Palatalizacija k i g

- a) U govorima postoji tendencija, da se u dativu i lokativu imenica 3. vrste uspostavi velar<sup>14</sup>: *Stánk/Stánci* *Milki/Milci*, *Bránk/Bránci*, *Jágliki/Jáglici*, ali: *AAlugi* (naziv sela). Prvi oblici su običniji. Oblici *fijòki*, *plàninki*, *májki* (*DT*, *RT*, *Vr*, *T*) su takode običniji od oblika sa *c*, koji su nastali po principima standardne sibilizacije.
- b) U 3. l. plurala prezenta imamo: *rèku/rèču*, *pèku/pèču*, *vúku/vúču* (*ŠP*, *K*), koji su rezultat analogije prema oblicima u kojima je došlo do palatalizacije
- c) U tvorbi pridjeva od ličnih imena imamo odnos *k/č*, sličan prethodnom odnosu. *Zòrkīn/Zòrčīn* *Milikīn/Miličīn*, *Jáglikīn/Jágličīn*, *Mijoljkīn/Mijoljčīn* (*O*, *MT*, *K*, *GD*).
- d) U nominativu plurala kod pridjeva imamo: *jědnaci/jědnaki* (*DT*, *RT*, *S'*). Dakle, čuju se i ne-standardni sibilizirani oblici.

#### Asimilacija po zvučnosti

Analoška pomjeranja imamo u: *nisak*, *žitak*, *blisak*, *usak* (*Vr*, *ŠP*, *HG*) (ali: *slădak* (*K*)). Analogijom prema zavisnim padežima u kojima je izvršena asimilacija po zvučnosti, alternativne foneme su se uspostavile i u nominativu.

#### Karakteristične fonološke pojave

- a) U govorima se sreću primjeri asimilacije u različitim slogovima jedne riječi ali ne u onoj mjeri kao

u južnijim crnogorskim govorima (Vušović, 1927, 26; Pešikan, 1965, 126; Čupić, 1977, 2): *šušbina*, *užēži* (*užēži cigar*) (*DT*, *ŠP*).

- b) Primjere disimilacije imamo u riječima u kojima meki glasovi *č* i *đ* starog jotovanja, ispred mekog *nj*, gube meki glasovni element: *kùtnji*, *pòtkutnjica*, *vòtnjak*, *nòtnjik*, *něsretnjik* (*RT*, *ŠP*, *DT*).
- c) Imamo primjere prelaženja strujnog suglasnika u afrikatu: *načkiljiti/naškiljiti*; *čkiljav/škiljav*, *džbān/žbān*, *Cmiljana*, *Cmilja* (*Smilja*), *crijěmuša* (*srijemūša*) (*HG*, *T*, *ŠP*). Leksema *članak* ima oblik *čljānak* i *šljānak* (*Prěbila nògu u šljānku*) (*DT*).
- d) Desonorizacija je manje prisutna, ali se, međutim, obezvučavanje vrši u sandhiju, što je, u stvari, asimilacija po zvučnosti i to kad sljedeća riječ počinje bezvučnim suglasnikom. Ponekad dolazi do desonorizacije na kraju iskaza: *Nóš češ dònijeti* (*DT*), *Gròp ti pùkò* (*GD*), *Ŭbijo te Bòg<sup>k</sup>* (*ŠP*), *Bòg<sup>k</sup> te* (*K*).
- e) Asimilaciju suglasnika po mjestu i načinu obrazovanja imamo u primjerima: *pòšlje*, *Ščěpan*, *ščěr* (*Vr*, *GD*), *šnjěgovi*, *ràščerati*, *iščūpatii*, *šljūbljeno*, *uščita*, *uščekate*, *šnjjima*, *běž njega*, *šljūdima* (*RT*).
- f) Metatezu srećemo u primjerima: *neòkle* (*òdnekle*), *gnjila* (*glina*), *čěpurka* (*pěčurka*), *òkle* (*oàkle*, *odàkle*), *p(r)āprat* (*pāprat*), *šunjati* (*njūšiti*), *šnjūvalo*, *vās* (*sāv*) (*RT*, *M*, *S'*, *DT*). Sreće se: *kūcati* i *cūcati*, *Štāno cūkuče* (*DT*), *Cūkuče cipelama* (*LT*).
- g) Dodavanje suglasnika bilježimo u primjerima:
  - 1) na početku riječi: *sprěšan* (*potreban*, *tal. presse-to*), *nūgo* (*ūgao*), *bobūljak* (*obūljak*) (*Vr*, *O*, *DT*).
  - 2) u sredini: *zdrěnuti*, *zdrīo*, *zdrěla*, *ždràknuti*, *zdráci* (*zrāk*, *zdráci*), *prokmòliti* (*promòliti*), *brěz*, *brezobrāzluk*, *brezprėkoran*, *ozdònud*, *ozdòvud* (*ŠP*, *RT*, *LT*, *Vr*, *T*).
  - 3) na kraju riječi dodaju se suglasnici: *tādar*, *òndāj*, *dědēr*, *odozgōr* (*K*), *òndār* (*Z*, *O*), *tūn* (*Z*, *O*), *òtlen* (*Z*, *O*). Široko je rasprostranjena upotreba oblika *blāgōš* (*K*, *DT*, *ŠP*, *Pb*) sa sekundarnim *š*, nastala vjerovatno po analogiji prema ličnom imenu *Blāgoš*.
- h) Stare suglasničke grupe *skj*, *zgj* u štokavskom su obično *št* i *žd*, ali je katkad i *šč* i *žđ*: *iščēm*, *išči*, *zaišči*, *biščem*, *pobiščēm* (kod starijih) (*P*, *DT*). Grupe *st*, *št* i *šč* smjenjuju se: *pūstiti* (*pūštiti/pūščiti*), *nāpūstiti* (*nāpustiti*) i (*spūstiti/spūščiti*), *střcati* (*štrcati*) (*ŠP*, *RT*, *HG*), kao i *sl* i *šlj*: *zāpošljeno* (*Vr*), *zapòslen* (*K*).

#### Jekavsko jotovanje

Jekavsko (najnovije) jotovanje rasprostranjeno je u ovom govoru:

<sup>14</sup> Jovanović (2014, 101) tvrdi da se „rezultat sibilizacije *k > c* probio u durmitorskim govorima, za razliku od crnogorskih govora starijeg tipa i u vlastita imena“.

- a) t+j, d+j (j<ě): *lěceti, cěрати, išćerati, dōćerati/ doćerati, šćeti, đeca, prāded, đevōjka, dētelina* (DT, K, ŠP), *viđećeš* (RT), *vōđe* (GD, Vr) ali i: *vōj* (Vr). Pridjev *tjelesni* u govorima je češći u ekavskoj formi: *telesni* (DT, P, RT, ŠP) (*Ima velike telesne ozljeđe*). U govorima često sretamo i oblik *telo*. Ekavska forma je mogla nastati pod uticajem religijskog i konfesionalnog diskursa. Na cijelom području je glagol *tješiti* (DT, ŠP) (ali: *ućešiti* (kod veoma starih osoba)). Obično je *djelo* (ŠP, DT, HG) (ali: *Dóće đelo na viđelo* (DT)).
- b) l, n +j(<ě) >lj, nj: *šljēme, njēžan, ljepōta, ljēto, prōljētos, šnjēgovi* (S', ŠP, T, Vr; O, DT).
- c) Jekavsko jotovanje je sporadično obuhvatio i usnene suglasnike: p, b, v i m: *t'pljeti, ūmljeti, pljēvati, pljēsma, pljēgav, mljēsec, vljētar, vljēra. življeli* (RT, DT, S'), *mljēsec* (RT). O jekavskom jotovanju s i z govorili smo u okviru opisa glasova a s' i z'.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Raznovrsnost oblika na nivou suglasničkog sistema na ispitivanom području ukazuje na karakteristike govora koje bilježenjem i deskripcijom predstavljaju fakat dijalektološkoj nauci. U kontekstu relativno kompaktnog govora Potarja, što nimalo ne umanjuje značaj varijantnosti unutar njega, osvrnuli smo se na *miješane* i *prelazne* govore zbog njihovog specifičnog geolingvističkog statusa. Izdajamo neke karakteristične osobine.

S obzirom na postavljeni osnovni cilj istraživanja, a to je da su granice među dijalektima i tipovima govora uslovnog karaktera, te da se takav karakter izdvaja na osnovu pravaca rasprostiranja govornih crta, možemo zaključiti sljedeće:

1. Izvorne istočnohercegovačke osobine prisutne su u centralnoj regiji Potarja, a one su strukturno najbliže osnovici standardnog srpskog jezika.
2. Miješani govorni tip poprma uticaje bosanskih govora. Upadljivija osobina na području miješanih govora jeste geminacija u grupama *dn, dnj: glānna, zānjnji* i ukazuje na uticaj bosanskih govora na govor Potarja, i onda kad je ovo područje udaljeno od granične oblasti, kao što je govor

sela Lever Tara u kojima je živalj uglavnom muslimanske konfesije. U sredini riječi gubi se suglasnik g na području miješanih govora (*jānje*). U deklinaciji gubi se čitav slog (*jānjāca*). Ova osobina je karakteristika i govora u unutrašnjosti, kao što je npr. Govor Banjana (zabilježeno od informatora sa ovog područja). Ove pojave ukazuju na različite pravce rasprostiranja govornih crta, konfesionalni uticaj, kao što je primjer sela Lever Tare, ali i miješanjem govora pravoslavnog i muslimanskog življa, što pokazuje i uticaj bosanskih govora na govor pravoslavnih u graničnoj oblasti miješanih govora (Vr), i govor Banjana, udaljen od granične oblasti.

3. Stanje u prelaznim govorima koji predstavljaju „sudar“ dvaju dijalekata različite strukture ukazuje, uz osobine koje ih kao divergentne polarizuju, i na uticaj na crte u prelaznom govoru iz pravca zetsko-raškog dijalekta:

- a) Prelazni govori imaju čest infinitiv bez nastavka –ti: *mūs (musti)* (HG), *krās (krasti)* (K).
- b) Na području prelaznih govora *se* ne čuje usljed prozodjskih uslova: *sastāu* (K), *reprodūkuu* (K).
- c) Upotreba glasa s' je obična u govoru Potarja. Međutim, morfematska granica uslovljava opstanak grupe *sj* u primjerima tipa *klasje, osje*. U govorima južnije od prelaznih zabilježen je oblici *klās'e, ós'e*.
- d) Upotreba glasa z' mnogo je rjeđa: *iz'esti, iz'elica, iz'eli, iz'edem* (ali: *izjedna, izjednāčiti*).

U ovim govorima imamo oblike *kōzi, kōdi, kōzi, kōdavina, ūdati*, a oblici *koz'i, koz'avina* karakteristika su južnijih govora.

Što se glasovnih procesa tiče jekavsko jotovanje je obična pojava. Međutim, i ono je nedosljedno. Pridjev *tjelesni* u govorima je čest i u ekavskoj formi *tēlesni*. U govorima često sretamo i oblik *tēlo*, Preovladava i oblik *djēlo*, a oblik *đēlo* zabilježili smo jedino u okviru frazeološkog izraza. Ekavska forma je mogla nastati pod uticajem religijskog i konfesionalnog diskursa, a jotovani oblik pod uticajem forme izraza (*Doće đelo na viđelo*).

Na cijelom području je glagol *tješiti*, ali i *ućešiti* (kod veoma starih osoba).



## SOGLASNIŠKI SISTEM IN POMEMBNEJŠI GLASOVNI PROCESI V GOVORICI POTARJA (V KONTEKSTU MEŠANIH IN PREHODNIH GOVORNIH TIPOV)

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### POVZETEK

*V prispevku je opisan sistem soglasnikov v govorici iz Potarja. To je območje na severu Črne Gore. Omenjena govorica pripada vzhodnohercegovski dialektu in je na meji prehodnega in mešanega značaja. Specifičnost tega geolingvističnega področja se kaže v tem, da prikazuje govorico kot živo kategorijo ter, da administrativna meja v jezikoslovju in sami govorici ni nujno meja med »jeziki«, temveč mejno območje med govoricami. To velja za območje med Črno Goro, Bosno in Hercegovino in Srbijo. V naših raziskavah so te govorice predstavljene kot mešan tip govoric. Ugotavljamo, da so na nivoju prehodnih govoric večje strukturne razlike med govoricami različnih dialektov ter v okviru sistema soglasnikov, ki je relativno stabilen, in v okviru ene države, kot pa na nivoju mešanih govoric istega dialekta danes treh držav.*

1. Izrazita značilnost na področju mešanih govoric je geminacija v skupinah *dn, dnj*: *glanna, zanjnji*.
2. V sredini besede se zgubi soglasnik *g* na področju mešanih govoric: *janje*. Pri sklanjatvi pa se zgubi cel zlog: *janjaca*.
3. Pri prehodnih govoricah je pogost nedoločnik brez podaljška *-ti*: *mus (musti) kras (krasti)*.
4. Na področju prehodnih govoric se soglasnika *j* ne sliši zaradi prozodičnih pogojev: *sastau, reprodkuu*.
5. Uporaba glasu *s'* je običajna v potarski govorici. Vendar je morfemska meja pogoj za obstanek skupine *sj* v primerih kot so *klklasje, osje*. V govoricah, ki so južnejše od prehodnih se pojavljajo oblike *klas'e, os'e*.
6. Uporaba glasu *z'* je veliko manj pogosta: *iz'esti, iz'elica, iz'eli, iz'edem* (ampak: *izjedna, izjednačiti*). V takšnih govoricah najdemo oblike *kož'i, kođi, koz'i, kođavina, uđati*, medtem ko so oblike *koz'i, koz'avina* karakteristika južnejših govoric.
7. V glasovnih procesih je jekavsko jotovanje vsakdanji pojav, vendar ni dosledno. Pridevnik *tjelesni* je v govoru pogost tudi v ekavski obliki *teelesni*. Pogosta pa je tudi oblika *teelo*. Prevladuje tudi oblika *djelo*, medtem ko se oblika *đelo* pojavlja samo v obliki frazeološkega izraza. Ekavska oblika je lahko nastala pod vplivom reli-gijskega in konfesionalnega dirkurza, jotovana oblika pa pod vplivom forme izraza. (*Doće đelo na viđelo*). Na celotnem področju se pojavlja glagol *tjeešiti*, medtem ko *uyćešiti* le pri starejših osebah.

**Ključne besede:** govorica Potarja, prehodni govor, mešani govor, soglasniški sistem, glasovni procesi

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## SPECIAL TYPES OF SELF-GOVERNMENT IN TOWNS AND MARKET TOWNS IN SLOVENIAN TERRITORY FROM THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE ABOLITION OF TOWN AND MARKET-TOWN SELF-GOVERNMENTS

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### ABSTRACT

*This contribution discusses special types of local self-government in towns and especially market towns in Slovenian territory from the end of the Middle Ages through to the abolition of town and market-town self-governments in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It delves into cases where the level of self-government was lower than usual and also its origin was specific. Just two of such towns are known, both emerging only in the Early Modern Age, whereas the genesis of limited self-government in market towns was multifarious and independent from the time of the market town's occurrence or the recognition of its market-town title. Although some market towns have the same or similar traits in common, every case has its own story.*

**Keywords:** towns, market towns, Slovenian territory, local self-government

## FORME SPECIALI DI AUTOGOVERNO NELLE CITTÀ E NEI MERCATI DEL TERRITORIO SLOVENO DALLA FINE DEL MEDIOEVO FINO ALL'ABOLIZIONE DEI AUTOGOVERNI CITTADINI

### SINTESI

*Il contributo tratta delle forme speciali di autogoverno locale nelle città e soprattutto nei mercati dalla fine del medioevo fino all'abolizione degli autogoverni nella prima metà dell'Ottocento. In essi il livello di autogoverno era inferiore a quello comune ed era legato anche a uno sviluppo specifico. Tra le città, i casi erano solo due e si svilupparono solamente all'inizio dell'età moderna, nel caso dei mercati si può invece constatare forme molto diverse di sviluppo dell'autogoverno locale, non legate al periodo in cui i mercati erano stati fondati, ossia dal riconoscimento del diritto di mercato. Sebbene alcuni esempi studiati mostrano delle somiglianze, si tratta di casi diversi fra di loro, ognuno rappresenta infatti una storia a sé.*

**Parole chiave:** città, mercati, territorio sloveno, forme speciali di autogoverno.



## PRESENTATION OF THE PROBLEM

Up until the 15<sup>th</sup> century, there was a certain degree of fuzziness in the substantive differentiation between towns and market towns in the Slovenian and broader central-European area. Namely, initially the denomination of market town (*mercatum*, *oppidum*, *Markt*) and town (*civitas*, *Stadt*) was largely a reflection of the status of the then town or market-town seignior. The existence of town walls was often a more decisive factor when distinguishing between provincial princely towns and market towns than economic rights (Mitterauer, 1980, 281, 289, 292–298). More important than use of the designation was another distinguishing criterion whose existence in Bavarian-Austrian territory was already emphasised by E. Klebel. Based on a thorough analysis of town and market-town seigniors, he found that towns were primarily established by princes, whereas market towns were established by lower noblemen (Klebel, 1939/40, 48).

A clear distinction between towns and market towns can only be made at the time the term *town* became a legal term and/or category in the legal hierarchy of naming urban settlements. Almost the only way to achieve the title of *town* was if it was bestowed by the ruler, as attested to in historical records in Austrian territory since the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Melik, 1972, 312). In Slovenian territory, the first formally founded town was Novo mesto (1365), with the word '*novus*' indicating it was new (Vilfan, 1969, 88 ff.). In the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the elevation of its status into *town* was followed by the general elevation into *market town* by the provincial prince. It replaced the two former main types of market-town privileges, namely the granting of trading rights and the privilege of holding a weekly trade fair which provincial princes mainly granted to the centres of aristocratic and ecclesiastical seigniories (Mitterauer, 1980, 299–300).

At the end of the Middle Ages, all continental towns in Slovenian territory (the development of littoral towns was different) had four basic town characteristics in terms of their legal status and town rights granted through privileges, they had a well-established community of personally free townspeople, they had a market and engaged in trading on a daily basis, they held a special jurisdiction over their territory and enjoyed a privileged status regarding public charges. On the contrary, market towns only enjoyed some of these elements. Although they strongly resembled towns in terms of their size and functions, they did not have the town privilege and the title *town* – these being the basic criteria distinguishing towns and market towns (LMA, 1997, 2177; LMA, 1993, 634).

As in the broader area, the number of towns in Slovenian territory at the turn of the Modern Age reached its upper limit that was not exceeded until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with the exception of two 'non-genuine towns'

(towns in name only) that emerged in the Early Modern Age. The distinction between towns and market towns became clear where provincial princely town privileges gained ground, along with towns' participation in the provincial political life (Vilfan, 1961, 156, 310 sl.). On the other hand, the legal bases of medieval market towns were incomparably weaker and differed considerably from one case to another. Along with other reasons, the number of market towns constantly varied even much later in the Modern Age due to the heterogeneous substance of the market-town title. Thus, by the 18<sup>th</sup> century the market-town title had disappeared in some towns but appeared in some others (Golec, 1999).

A clear-cut dividing line can be drawn between towns on one side and market towns on the other also with regard to local self-government. While the level of self-government and its organisation were practically uniform in towns (at the helm of the town was the elected town judge and, beside him, two elected town councils), market towns merely followed the example of towns but differed tremendously from each other (Golec, 1999, 377–437).

The article provides an overview of the development in those Slovenian places bearing the town or market-town title, where the local self-government deviated from the common standard and whose emergence and form were specific. Among towns, there are solely the two already mentioned (Idrija and Sv. Križ) whose title of *town* was established only in the Early Modern Age, whereas the special development of self-government characterised several market towns regardless of the time of their occurrence, which applies to both medieval towns and those evolving from villages in the Early Modern Age. Those market towns, chiefly the small ones, which remained at the level of a village community, are not included in the discussion. The upper time limit is the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the town and market-town self-governments ceased to exist as such: in 1811 in that part of Slovenian territory under the rule of the Illyrian Provinces during the 1809–1813 period, and elsewhere in 1849 upon the Austrian reform of the administrative and judicial system (Žontar, 1988, 88–90).

The article is underpinned by the author's previous research into individual towns and market towns, applying numerous primary sources and standard scientific methods pertaining to history. To avoid listing a great number of references that might lead to a lack of clarity, only the author's scientific publications are quoted instead of individual archival records and published literature.

Given the considerable differences between the special types of self-government of towns and market towns in Slovenian territory, a comparison of the peculiarities within the wider European area would be very demanding, but clearly of great benefit. In this

contribution, such a comparison is only indicated in individual examples. Considering that historiography has dedicated substantially more research attention to the comparative history of towns than to minor types of urban settlements which, in Slovenian territory, are known by the name *trg* (market town, borough), whereas other names and types are found elsewhere (cf. especially Knittler (ed.), 2006), in the future nothing less than delving into micro-studies from other areas will be required to identify the common features and similarities in the development of types of market-town self-government. This contribution basically aims to offer researchers from other regions an insight into the Slovenian situation and facilitate the inclusion of Slovenian special features in comparative (suprarregional) research.

#### TOWNS AND MARKET TOWNS WITH A SPECIFIC TYPE OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

Besides 20 continental towns with a medieval origin in the territory of present-day Slovenia, two more emerged in the Early Modern Age, namely Sv. Križ (present-day Vipavski Križ) and Idrija. As the latter never had any legal or other attributes of a genuine town, they can merely be termed **nominal towns**, i.e. towns by name only. It is not surprising that they lie in the western part of Slovenia where the network of towns and market towns was the weakest.

The town of **Sv. Križ (Vipavski Križ)** in the Goriška region was one of the few towns in Slovenian territory not owned by a provincial prince, and emerged in 1532 after the provincial prince, King Ferdinand, granted the request of the seignior Thurn to elevate this rural settlement into a town, which had been walled for defence reasons and served as a fort during the Turkish invasions half a century earlier. Based on this elevation charter, the inhabitants of Sv. Križ became burghers (inhabitants of market towns, or German: *Bürger*), but only by name, and the town was granted the right to hold annual and weekly trade fairs but not to its own judiciary and administration. According to their legal status, the inhabitants continued to be serfs to their seigniors and the town functioned as an ordinary village community. All administrative and judicial transactions were carried out by the seignior administrator, the town did not have its own office or a head holding the title of town judge, but only 12 community representatives functioning as a consultation body. Before the elevation of its status into *town*, Sv. Križ was led by an elected village head called *župan* (German: *Suppan*), with the same powers as those of *župans* of other villages. After the declaration of town status (1532), the *župan* function can no longer be attested to due to the scarce historical sources that remain, but it is highly probable that it continued to exist. Although Emperor Joseph II still

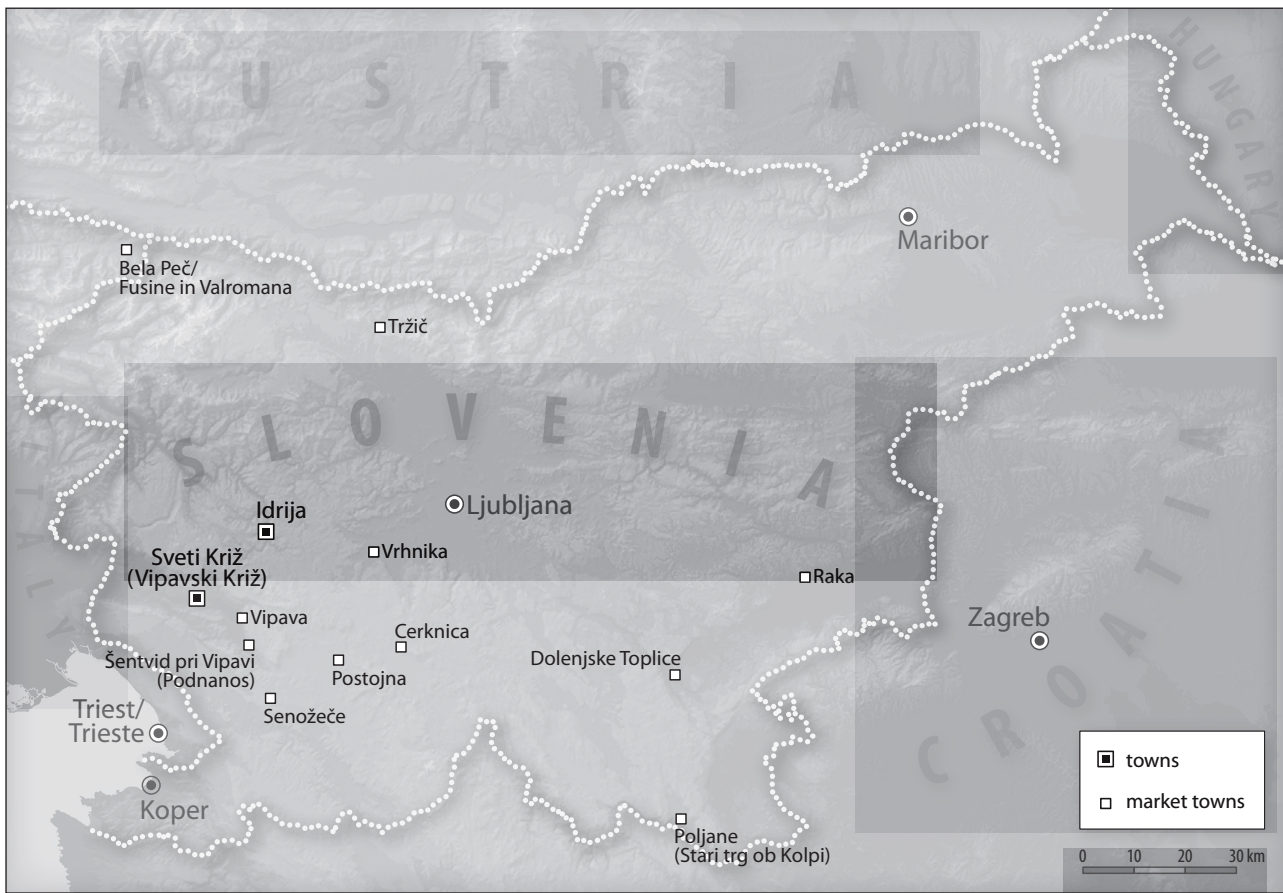
approved the town rights of Sv. Križ in 1781, the status gradually faded away. Thus, in 1818 Sv. Križ was officially only a market town, then lost this title in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and became an ordinary village until it was granted, at least symbolically, the title of *town* at the end of the century (Golec, 2007, 210–217).

The second nominal town was **Idrija** with a completely different genesis since this was initially a large mining settlement, having emerged at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century next to a mercury mine. After the mine fell under the control of the provincial prince in 1575 and became the second largest in the world, Idrija enjoyed a special status of autonomous land that did not belong to any hereditary dominion. Some considered it a market town at least from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, whereas in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, probably without any formal act, it became a town or, by its name, a mining town (German: *Bergstadt*). Besides the small town of Sv. Križ, Idrija was the only town in Slovenian territory without a corporation of legal-formal burghers. The whole administration and judiciary were in the hands of the mining or state authorities, which is why any town self-government was out of the question. This finding is all the more surprising because, after the final annexation to the Duchy of Carniola (1783), the town was the second biggest in the province, following the capital of Ljubljana. Paradoxically, local self-government in Idrija dates back to the time when, in the period of the French occupation, all town and market-town self-governments were abolished and administrative municipalities were first introduced (1811). Following the Austrian restoration of authority (1813), Idrija, like all municipalities, had an appointed head, called *rihtar* (German: *Richter*), and elected committee members, up until the great municipal reform of 1849 (Arko, 1931, 91–93, 211–213; Golec, 2014, 159–161).

Given the above, Idrija cannot in any way be considered a type of town that historiography names a 'mining town'. Namely, such towns that were typical mainly of the mining areas of Central Europe (e.g. Upper Silesia and Eastern Slovakia) enjoyed special town privileges that stemmed from mining rights (Kaufhold, 2004: VII–XI).

Sv. Križ (Vipavski Križ) and Idrija can be classified, not only because of their self-governance peculiarities but also for other characteristics, into the type of towns that the historiography of the German-speaking area calls *Minderstädte*, i.e. minor or incomplete towns (cf. Ehbrecht, 2006 1 ff.).

**In market towns**, special types of local self-government varied considerably from one place to another, as market towns differed substantially in terms of the level of acquired administrative and judicial rights. Generally, large differences were also observed between individual lands. While in the Slovenian Styria



**Figure 1: Towns and market towns with special types of local self-government.**

and the Slovenian part of Carinthia nearly all market towns enjoyed distinctive administrative and judicial autonomy<sup>1</sup>, featuring an elected judge, a market-town council, a lower judiciary and a community of legal-formal burghers (i.e. those holding full status), such market towns were in a minority in Carniola and did not even exist in the Goriška region. The main reasons for this stem from the different time of emergence and divergent development of the market settlements. This issue has not yet received sufficient research attention and no comparative study applies to all of the Slovenian territory.

In Goriška, a relatively scarcely populated area in the western part of the Slovenian territory, the notion of market town emerged very late, only in the Early Modern Age. In terms of local self-government level, market towns in Goriška had no differences from ordinary villages, which is a peculiarity on its own (Golec, 2007, 214). Diametrically opposed to Goriška were Slovenian Styria and Slovenian Carinthia, where new market towns (i.e. establishment of the name 'market town' for an already existing place) nearly ceased emerging after

the end of the Middle Ages (Curk, 1991, 74). This was also one reason for there being few market towns in that area without highly-developed self-government (Curk, 1991, 74, 75, 90, 99, 110).

Of all Slovenian lands, the greatest differences between market towns were found in Carniola where nearly one-half of all market towns appeared in historical sources only after 1500, whereas several medieval market towns died out or even fell into ruin. Undoubtedly, in some Carniolan places the delayed granting of the market-town title was because some more recent medieval towns in Carniola were not comparable, in economic and demographic terms, with towns in the proper sense of the word. These mainly included market towns whose status had been elevated to *town* by the provincial prince only in the last third of the 15<sup>th</sup> century due to the threat posed by Turkish invaders. A great many places in Carniola where trade fairs were held were bigger than an average town, and these especially strived to be granted the market-town title if they had not yet had it by then. Low standards for acquiring the town title led to many settlements seeking to be recognised

<sup>1</sup> The term autonomy is also established in the historiography for (local) self-government, whereas the legal profession distinguishes between autonomy and self-government (cf. Kambič, 2008, 459–488).



as market towns by their seignior and the surrounding areas. Accordingly, after 1500 as many as 11 places, differing in terms of size and importance as well as the level of local self-government, succeeded in obtaining the market-town title in one way or another (Golec, 1999, 236–237).

As we will see, only in certain Carniolan places was the occurrence of the market-town title (between the 16<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries) directly connected with acquisition of a specific type of local administration or self-government. However, special types of local self-government that deviated from the contemporary standard (i.e. an elected judge as the head of the community, a market-town council and a lower judiciary) not only characterised those market towns that emerged in the Early Modern Age, but also some places that appeared as market towns in historical records for the first time already in the Middle Ages. The time of market-town title acquisition was somewhat of secondary importance. Except in one case, there was always an informal recognition of the market-town title by the seignior, without any formal act. We sometimes come across almost the same or very similar development of limited self-government in two market towns of which one has its origins in the Middle Ages, whereas the other was granted and acknowledged the market-town title only in the 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century. As the administrative and judicial rights were bestowed on a market town informally, their protection was thereby small. It is not surprising that the acquired level of local self-government in some places only lasted for a short time, as it depended completely on the (self) decision of the seignior. The study of the existence, level and operation of self-government in nearly all market towns is hindered by the fact that not many historical records remain. The lower the level of the administrative and judicial rights, the less the records are preserved.

The overview starts with those market towns where the development of local self-government achieved the highest level, nearly the same or completely the same as those rare market towns in Carniola considered as having a developed administrative and judicial autonomy. Such market towns had their own judge, acting as the head (German: *Vorsteher*), who was elected and approved by the seignior, an elected market-town council and the community of legal-formal burghers (i.e. those holding full status) into which every person was accepted individually. The first instance corresponded to the judge and the council and the second instance to the seignior who, as a rule, also held the exclusive right to adjudicate in serious criminal matters (Kambič, 1996, 11; Golec, 1999, 381–402; Golec, 2016, 403–408).<sup>2</sup>

**Bela Peč**, a market town with a specific origin and located in the extreme north-west of the former Carniola, i.e. present-day Italy (Italian: Fusine in Valromana),

joined the group of these market towns in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The settlement as such emerged relatively late, towards the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century as a place of lodging for ironworkers and blacksmiths. At the turn of the Modern Age, its inhabitants received from their seignior tacit acknowledgement of the status of market town and burghers (the first mention of burghers dates back to 1499), whereas the so-called mining judge (first mentioned already in 1404) was bestowed the status of market-town judge (appearing in historical records as such for the first time between 1533 and 1535). The legal basis for this was not provided in writing, but at that given point in time the ironworkers' aspirations simply coincided with their seignior's interests. Of all ironworking and mining places in Carniola, Bela Peč was the only one to hold the market-town status. Even after, when its market-town title had been acknowledged, it retained its character and, in terms of physiognomy, did not differ from comparably-sized settlements with the same origin. The key difference was that the Bela Peč ironworkers, with their seignior's consent, 'transformed' their mining judge into a market-town judge and, following the examples of market towns with a well-developed self-government, created the institute of legal-formal burgher and market-town authorities. As ironworkers elected their mining judge, likewise, legal-formal burghers had the right to elect a market-town judge. They had to present the judge to the seigniorial administrator for approval, the latter functioning as the second instance above the market-town court. The local self-government of the Bela Peč market town is very well documented in the book of court records from the 1525–1734 period, fully acknowledging that this market town of late origin achieved a level of self-government witnessed only in a few market towns in Carniola. This high level of rights was unheard of in any other market towns in the province, which are discussed below.

In the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the difference in the administrative and judicial status between Bela Peč on one hand and that of all other ironworking and mining places in Carniola on the other, was finally acknowledged. The latter, with their mining courts, subjugated to the newly-established instance – the provincial princely higher mining judge for Carniola. On the contrary, Bela Peč functioned in the same manner as any other market place with well-developed self-government and, similarly to other Carniolan market towns of this type, preserved its self-government powers until the French occupation at the start of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to its physiognomy, economic orientation and inhabitants' professional structure, this market town remained a typical ironworking settlement, except that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the ownership structure changed considerably, as the original co-owners of the ironwork-

2 In Carniola (without part of Istria) there were only seven market towns with a developed administrative and judicial autonomy: Mokronog, Radeče, Žužemberk, Ribnica, Litija, Vače and Bela Peč.

ing facilities, whose ownership shares were quite balanced, were replaced by a small number of powerful noble families. The legal-formal burghers were not all engaged in ironworking, but pursued different professions (Golec, 2016, 390–409). Bela Peč had certain characteristics of Central European mining towns (cf. Kaufhold, 2004: VII–XI), but it is impossible to classify it as such, first and foremost because it was only a market town and not a town.

Quite similar, but much younger and shorter was the development of local self-government in the market town of **Dolenjske Toplice**. This market town is a special phenomenon since it is mentioned in historical sources as the second last among all Carniolan market towns only at the start of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, yet like many other older market towns it had a well-established community of burghers and a market-town judiciary, led by a market-town judge. The 'lifespan' of the market town, according to available archive records, was merely half a century, namely from 1705 to 1756; in a broader sense, this period lasted for a little less than 100 years, starting with 1657, when judge was mentioned for the first time, without the market-town title. Despite the scarce historical sources, in a brief half a century, which can probably be extended slightly into the past and a few years into the present, we come across all the main attributes of a well-developed market town, except for recorded market-town liberties, market-town council and elections of self-government authorities. The following are proven in historical sources: market-town title, market-town judge, burghers, courthouse and court. The market town of Dolenjske Toplice, despite its late evolution from a village, had even more characteristics of a genuine market town than many other Carniolan market towns.

The way the administrative and judicial autonomy functioned is primarily revealed in the well-preserved court minutes of the Žužemberk seignior. It is no coincidence that the place was granted self-government exactly at the time the health-spa activity was blooming for the first time. It is worth noting that the Dolenjske Toplice market town was 'established' by the most important noble family in Carniola, the Auerspergs, and that its judge, most likely the first one, was installed in 1657 by Count Volf Engelbert Auersperg, the then Carniolan provincial governor. The Count's motive was clear: to ensure a better standing for the rising health-spa town, featuring thermal springs. It is not a coincidence that the market-town judge was mentioned for the last time in the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century. The judicial service disappeared as a consequence of Maria Theresa's administrative reforms. With the loss of its own judge, the market-town also lost its title, one reason being that there were no weekly and annual trade fairs or any other visible signs of a market (Golec, 2015a, 101–117).

Of similarly short duration was the partial self-government of the small market town of **Senožeče**. The peculiarity of Senožeče, settled along the main road

between Ljubljana and Trieste, is the co-existence of a village and market town bearing the same name. The latter emerged next to the old village no later than at the start of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and was one of the few fortified market towns in Slovenian territory. Although the village and the market town constituted a whole and also functioned accordingly, they were divided throughout the centuries by a stone wall which, encircling the small market town, physically hindered its expansion and at the same time limited its legal features. This situation was also reflected in historical sources, with a consistent distinction between the village and the much smaller market town. It was not until the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century that they both merged to form a rural-type market town, after the fortified town had almost completely been vacated in the face of economic collapse.

Senožeče entered the Modern Age as a market town whose inhabitants were named burghers and their property had a privileged status, as the burghers, compared to serfs, paid fewer and different taxes to the landowning nobles. Despite the material benefits enjoyed by the market town's inhabitants, historical sources from the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century reveal no trace of any type of even limited market-town self-government. This finding is all the more important due to the existence of a detailed description of rural self-government in villages, dating back to this period (1524). Most villages elected their own *župans* (German: *Suppan*), who were then approved by seigniors. It all seems that the Senožeče market town did not have a permanent head (be it a *župan* or a judge); therefore, the market-town community was directly subordinate to the seigniorial administration. Burghers participated quite early on in the seigniorial judiciary as invited assessors.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the market town's further development was strongly marked by the appeasement of the political situation and favourable economic position following the rise of early capitalism. Its beneficial location along the main road towards the sea brought high and particularly regular income from trading. The development of this small market town was spurred by the settling of merchants from the Italian province of Bergamo, many of whom were relatives. This was a merchant family of Garzarollis, who later became members of the nobility and held a prominent role in the town until the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A particularly valuable record of the legal circumstances is the rent-roll of the lien administration of provincial seignior [German: *Pfandherrschaft*] of Senožeče from 1576, revealing the strong emancipation of the market-town community relative to the seignior, which is to be ascribed to the newcomers. The market town had a modest judicial self-government, of which there was no trace whatsoever half a century earlier. The rent-roll explicitly states that the market town does not have its own jurisdiction and the judge is appointed by the lienor (German: *Pfandherr*) of the Senožeče seignior, but this was already a great achieve-

ment compared to other market towns in Inner Carniola. Of all Inner-Carniolan market towns of medieval origin, Senožeče was the only one that consistently had its own market-town judge in the Early Modern Age, even if only for a short period when it was at its economic peak. The achieved limited market-town self-government was a result of the seigniority lienors' yielding to the requests of the self-confident Italian newcomers who had been accustomed to different circumstances and liberties. An unanswered question remains whether the class of burghers was legally-formally established among the inhabitants of this small market town or whether all independent landowners simply addressed themselves as burghers (German: *Bürger*). The available historical sources do not reveal whether Senožeče obtained an elected judge instead of an appointed one after 1576. Moreover, little is known about the judge's powers and none of the market-town judges is known by their name. By all means, the judge was the head of the market-town community and administration, whereby they perhaps did not have fully autonomous first-instance jurisdiction, but had to share it with the seigniority administrator. An important finding to help better understand the achieved level of self-government is that the market-town judge in the first quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was not only recognised by the domestic seigniors but also by the broader environment and higher authorities. However, already before the middle of the century, the market town was stricken by poverty and in 1644 allegedly counted only ten houses. Some burghers lost everything, others became rich and abandoned trading. As regards self-government rights, the market town already returned to its starting point before the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century. After it was heavily impacted by the national economic policy in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century – depriving it of the lively weekly trade fairs and building the main road towards Trieste away from it – this small market town nearly became vacant in a few decades. In this respect, Senožeče cannot be compared to any other place in Slovenian territory, especially due to the abrupt end to a formerly successful market town. Its short local self-government that was enforced by the colony of foreign immigrants is also a unique phenomenon in Slovenian territory (Golec, 2006a, 366–378).

In the same part of Carniola, namely Inner Carniola,<sup>3</sup> there were not many models for developing market-town self-government as there was only one town (Lož), which on top of everything was small and of late origin whereas, of nine market towns in total, five achieved market-town status only in the Early Modern Age (Golec, 2006b, 105). It is not surprising that the Inner-Carniolan market towns attempted to find original paths to local self-government with a delay and that none of them had well-developed administrative and judicial

autonomy. It all seems that the highest development of self-government was in Senožeče, yet only temporarily. In three other Inner-Carniolan market towns, Vrhnika, Vipava and Postojna – all were very large for the Slovenian situation (with about 200 houses at the start of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) (Golec, 2006b, 129) – the market-town self-government at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century was only ostensible. It was created by the nominal function of market-town judge as a result of the fact that *deželski sodnik* i.e. the criminal justice judge of the seigniority, or German *Landrichter*, 'lent' the function and the name to the so-called market-town judge. The *Landrichter* was also addressed as market-town judge (German: *Land und Marktrichter*), thus combining both titles in the one person (Golec, 2006b, 112–114). Two of three market towns with this phenomenon, Vipava and Postojna, were of a medieval origin, whereas Vrhnika's market-town title appeared only at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (with the first mention of 'burgher' in 1586), nearly concurrently with the title of market-town judge or *Marktrichter* (Golec, 2006b, 109–110, 112–114). The main reason that **Vrhnika**, a very busy place at the junction of waterways and roads that was already important in the Antiquity, failed to evolve into a market-town already in the Middle Ages and never became a trade-fair venue worth mentioning is that the town of Ljubljana, the provincial capital, was too close to it. Moreover, Vrhnika was divided among several seigniories and consisted of three settlements that differed considerably in terms of their physiognomy; eventually, only two parts of the settlement were named market towns, whereas the third one, with the parish seat, was not (Golec, 2006b, 106–109). The term burgher (German: *Bürger*) is documented only exceptionally and only for individuals, not the community – differently from Vipava and Postojna which were old medieval market towns (Golec, 2006b, 119–120). When another title for *deželski sodnik* (*Landrichter*) was introduced at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, namely *Marktrichter* (market-town judge), this did not change the substance of the judge's function in any way. Namely, it is unknown whether the judge represented the inhabitants of Vrhnika with respect to external matters, as was the case in Postojna and Vipava. The changes to the office of the Vrhnika judge occurred only in 1624 after the Logatec seigniority passed from the provincial princely ownership to the private ownership of the Eggenberg princes. The seat of *deželski sodnik* (*Landrichter*) was transferred from Vrhnika to the seat of the Logatec seigniority, whereas their office was merged with the office of the seigniority administrator. Consequently, in the Vrhnika market town the judge's function became independent and was limited to the territory of Vrhnika, whereas the judge retained some of the powers of the *Landrichter*. According to the scarce historical sources,

<sup>3</sup> For the purpose of this article, the term Inner Carniola has the meaning as applied in a more recent period of time, after the end of the Illyrian Provinces (1813), when it lost the north-eastern part of Istria, Duino along the Gulf of Trieste, and small exclaves in the middle of the territory of the Goriška County.



the position was mostly simply named judge (*Richter*, *judex*) and only occasionally market-town judge (*Marktrichter*), as they were not directly connected with the market town. Namely, the Logatec seignior appointed them as its own official whose terms of reference included: supervision of the lively traffic through Vrhnika and supervision of inns, collecting trade-fair fees and monetary penalties, maintaining of the usher, direct acceptance of orders by provincial authorities and similar. It is not confirmed whether the Vrhnika inhabitants had any influence whatsoever on the judge's appointment. Its existence was a matter of prestige for Vrhnika, whereas it was important for the burghers' self-image that all renowned judges came from the leading local families. They were among the largest landowners in the town, whereas their professions included postmaster, toll collector, healer etc. The institute of market-town judge was automatically abolished in Vrhnika during the general administrative and judicial reform by the French at the time of the Illyrian Provinces (1811). Vrhnika did not possess any other market-town self-government attributes: neither the elected market-town council nor the formal-legal burgher status. It was in fact an ordinary village community where serfs of different seigniorities each had their own *župan*, a village head drawn from the ranks of serfs, who acted as an auxiliary authority of the seignior (Golec, 2006b, 115–121).

In the two other Inner-Carniolan market towns, **Vipava** and **Postojna**, where *deželski sodnik* (*Landrichter*) of the seignior also 'lent' their name to the *Marktrichter*, such a symbiosis of two titles managed to survive only for a few decades at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> and into the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The judge was not elected but appointed, and the market-town local-government was only ostensible – without a market-town council and legal-formal community of burghers. The market towns functioned as a village community, where market-town inhabitants participated in the judiciary by providing assessors to the provincial criminal court (*Landgericht*). In both market towns, the function of *deželski sodnik* (*Landrichter*) gradually became absorbed by the function of seignior administrator – in Vipava no later than in the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century and in Postojna not before the start of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Golec, 2006a, 202–208; Golec, 1999, 412–423).

In all three Inner-Carniolan market towns, the process of creating a nominal *Marktrichter* based on the function of *Landrichter* was a result of the temporary meeting of the seignior's and inhabitants' interests. It is not coincidental that this happened in the period of Protestantism. Concurrently with the victory of the Counter-Reformation, in the 1620s all three Inner-Carniolan market towns passed from provincial princely ownership to private ownership. Many other market towns experienced the same and their sale to the nobility led to a firm halt in the development of market-town self-governments in general. The new seigniors attempted to

at least limit the rights previously granted to the market towns by the lienors, if not completely abolish them. The modest types of nominal market-town institutions, which characterised the abovementioned Inner-Carniolan market towns, died out because their rights were not written or legally-formally codified (Golec, 2006a, 206–208). A special judge was preserved in Vrhnika only to cater to certain needs, given that the market town was far from the seignior seat (Golec, 2006b, 114). Moreover, in Postojna and Vipava the term burgher (*Bürger*) was gradually losing ground, thus (nearly) disappearing in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The fact that in 1748 Postojna became the seat of the large administrative district (German: *Kreis*) for one century failed to result in any changes that would strengthen the market town's local self-government (Golec, 1999, 418–419, 422).

In Inner Carniola, two market towns gave the impression of having well-developed administrative and judicial autonomy and were very similar in their origin: **Cerknica** and **Šentvid pri Vipavi** (present-day **Podnanos**). These two large villages were named market towns in about 1600 on a more solid legal basis than any other Carniolan market town originating from the Modern Age. Namely, at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century almost concurrently they were granted the provincial princely privilege of a weekly trade fair, and only a little afterwards were their inhabitants mentioned for the first time as burghers (*Bürger*). In terms of internal regulation, the market towns remained village communities headed by the village head, called *župan*, yet they differed from ordinary communities each in their own way. In Šentvid, two symbolic elements of local administration are attested to in historical records as of 1600 but they could even be much older: the community seal and the community house, in which common matters were settled. A community was managed by two elected church caretakers (Golec, 2006a, 217–223). The much bigger Cerknica, which was even the biggest market town in Carniola in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, made a few bigger steps towards local self-government than Šentvid did. More favourable conditions for establishing a special market-town administration occurred in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century when most landowners passed under the Hošperk seignior, triggering a strong reduction of the previous fragmentation between several seigniorities. The new seigniors of Hošperk, the Eggenberg princes, complied with the needs of their serfs by transforming the then *župa* (German: *Supp*), i.e. the lowest administrative unit of the seignior, named *župa* Cerknica in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century into a so-called judicial district (German: *Richter amt*). As of 1649 there was no mention of *župan* (*suppanus*) but only judge (*judex*, *Richter*), yet it is unknown which powers the Eggenbergs gave to the newly-established judge, as only the names of the judges are known. Besides performing public legal tasks, judges had, with a great deal of certainty, weaker judicial powers over the Hošperk serfs in the market

town, which means that it was not just about renaming the function of *župan* into the function of judge. The judicial district definitely did not cover the entire market town but only the main part – the former Cerknica *župa* which formed part of the Hošperk seigniory. Despite the judge and a single mention of the market-town council (in 1660), their substance cannot be equated with the elected judges and councils in the administratively and judicially autonomous market towns. The Cerknica judges are seldom designated as *Marktrichter* in historical sources, whereas it can be concluded from their self-designations in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century that they were not elected but only appointed by the seigniory. The so-called judicial district was in the hands of the same person or economically strong family for several decades and it is most likely that it existed up until the general administrative and judicial reform at the time of the Illyrian Provinces. The same as in other Inner-Carniolan market towns, in Cerknica the institute of legal-formal burgher, i.e. a person that would be granted such a title and rights individually, is also attested to in historical records (Golec, 1999, 404–407).

Certain similarities with Cerknica are found in another Carniolan market town which also acquired its market-town title late. This was the village of **Raka** in Lower Carniola which was first mentioned as a market town in 1616, concurrently with the first mention of the function of judge (*Richter*). Divided among several seigniories, Raka acquired the market-town title in a much less formal manner than Cerknica and with internally limited validity. Except for its close surroundings, the broader area was unfamiliar with its market-town status. The decisive role in acknowledging the market-town title was played by the Kostanjevica seigniory, which was the only one capable of offering a sufficient legal basis. While the market-town title is continuously attested to until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the term judge was mentioned for the last time in 1755. The biggest problem concerning the issue of the Raka judge, which is only once mentioned explicitly as a *Marktrichter*, is the poor documentation on the function's substance. The existence of the market-town council can only be assumed, but with a great deal of scepticism, as the burgher title only rarely applied to the Raka inhabitants (Golec, 2015b, 23–44).

Besides Dolenjske Toplice and Raka, among all Lower-Carniolan market towns only the **Poljane market town (present-day Stari trg ob Kolpi)** featured some modest elements of local self-government, if we exclude those five market towns with well-developed administrative and judicial autonomy (Mokronog, Radeče, Liti-ja, Ribnica and Žužemberk). Like with the five market towns mentioned above, Poljane also had a medieval origin and was the only market town in Carniola to have submitted its modest market-town privilege from 1421 until the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century to the current ruler for approval. In 1781, the Auersperg princes approved the

privilege for the last time and even expanded it; thereafter, the new request for approval made in 1830 was not granted. The market town had only weak characteristics of market settlements throughout this time. Moreover, it was so small and insignificant that the contemporaries did not know it as a market town, which is particularly evident in the works of the well-learned polyhistor Johann Weikhard von Valvasor (1689). There was no trace of any administrative and judicial autonomy; only for a short period of time (1776–1811) do the historical records attest to the so-called judge (*rihtar*), but not as an elected representative of the market-town community but as a seigniory official. It is perfectly clear that they did not have any lower-judicial or administrative powers and that their powers were much broader than those of *župans* because their judge title was above that of *župan*, i.e. it was similar or equal to the title of town or market-town head. It has not been completely ruled out that the Poljane market town nevertheless had an elected head with judicial powers some time earlier, but lost it before the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century. There is no trace of the institute of legal-formal burghers in this miniature market town (Golec, 2010, 595–607).

While the exact time of introducing the institute of judge in Poljane, which gave this market town an appearance of local self-governance, is unknown, the market-town management in **Tržič** in Upper Carniola is better documented. This economically important market town with more inhabitants than many Carniolan towns and a prominent urban appearance was a peculiarity in several respects. As the only market town in Slovenian territory, it enjoyed the provincial princely privilege to be elevated to market town (1492), which was granted at the request of both seigniors (Zwitter 1929, 72–73). Since then, for nearly two centuries, only a community of burghers, without its own administration or judge, is attested to in historical sources. Their formation in the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century was enabled by the merger of both seigniories into one, whereby the entire market town was ruled over by the same seigniory. In 1666, all the elements of well-developed market-town self-government were documented: a market-town judge, council and market-town seal, but this situation only lasted for a few decades. After a fire in 1689, the community of burghers alone (without a judge and a council) communicated with the emperor in writing, whereas according to a report by the Tržič inhabitants of 1729 the market town did not have its own judge and jurisdiction (i.e. the first instance) following the abovementioned fire. Even in the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century, it was still completely subordinate to the administration of the Tržič seigniory; the Tržič inhabitants acknowledged the seigniory administrator as their market-town judge (1752) (Golec, 1999, 436–437). The position of the economically successful and town-like Tržič was literally paradoxical at that time. Unfortunately, we are

unfamiliar with what happened in the background when the market town lost its self-government and regained it again in 1777, if only to a limited degree. At that time, the Count Maria Joseph Auersperg granted a strongly limited administration led by three elected heads, but without a market-town judiciary, judge and council; the abovementioned three headmen – one senior (*Obervorsteher*) and two junior (*Untervorsteher*) – adjudicated as the first-instance authority only in disputes related to craft and granting of the right (*Bürgerrecht*) to legal-formal burgher status, i.e. full right. It is significant that the seignior did not introduce the institute of market-town judge but a three-member collective leadership with a different, less reputable title. In the last decades before the general abolition of town and market-town self-governments in Carniola (1811) Tržič, as the only one of the three Upper-Carniolan market towns, thus survived without developed self-government. It was only an approximation of self-government, although it was the biggest and most important (Miklitsch, 1912, 256–260). On the contrary, one can conclude that the institute of legal-formal burgher was not introduced in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but much earlier.

#### CONCLUSION

It is very difficult to typify the local self-governments of the discussed market towns since not even two places witnessed the same development, but only featured larger or smaller similarities. The highest level of self-government – the same as in the markets of medieval origin which achieved well-developed self-government early on – was acquired by the market town of Bela Peč. This was originally an ironworking settlement, which first appeared in the records as a market town at the turn from the Middle Ages to the Modern Age and retained this status until the general abolition of market-town self-government in Carniola (1811). Lagging behind Bela Peč were the following two market towns where self-government was much more limited and only lasted briefly: Senožeče, with its late medieval origin, and Dolenjske Toplice, first shown in the records as a market town at the start of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the ostensible market-town judge office evolved from the function of provincial criminal judge (*deželski sodnik*) in three large Inner-Carniolan market towns – Vipava, Postojna and Vrhnika. By the end of the period under scrutiny, i.e. the start of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, self-government survived only in one market town, Vrhnika, which was very important in traffic terms, but even here the *Marktrichter* was in

fact a seigniorial official and not a representative of the market-town community.

Two other Inner-Carniolan market towns, Cerknica and Šentvid pri Vipavi (present-day Podnanos), have in common the emergence of a market town from a village (by acquiring the privilege to hold weekly trade fairs) and the timing of this event (around 1600), whereas their development towards local self-government was different. Cerknica is an example where the function of market-town judge evolved from the function of village head, *župan*. Even less is known about the emergence and substance of the market-town judge's function in Raka, which declared itself a market town at the same time, in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. In Poljane, a very small and not-so-important market town which was granted a modest market-town privilege already in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, a judge was recorded only in the final decades before the abolition of market-town self-government in 1811, whereas their powers were probably not much bigger than those of an ordinary village *župan*. An interesting peculiarity is Tržič, an important and large market town with an urban appearance, which was the only place in Slovenian territory to have held the provincial princely privilege of being elevated from a village to a market town (1492) on one hand but, on the other, despite its economic importance and size, it did not achieve well-developed self-government but only a very limited form.

The study of special types of local self-government in nearly all of the discussed market towns is hindered by the scarcity of the historical sources that are preserved. The lower the level of the administrative and judicial rights, the less the records are preserved. Many times one has to apply analogy and deduction '*per negationem*', always bearing in mind the fact that the notion of what the situation was in any of the discussed market towns could change as soon as a new piece of information is discovered.

This article's findings can be summed up by concluding that local self-governments in market towns in Slovenian territory were much more multifarious than could be inferred by a perfunctory reading of the historical sources. The same denominations, e.g. burgher, judge etc., can be highly misleading because their substance differed from one place to another. The terminology used for towns was substantially more uniform, as we know only two examples of 'non-genuine towns', i.e. towns in name only. Besides the main purpose of this article – to present this varied picture of seemingly uniform local self-governments – another purpose is to enable a comparison with European territories that feature similar phenomena and issues.



## POSEBNE OBLIKE SAMOUPRAVE V MESTIH IN TRGIH NA SLOVENSKEM OD KONCA SREDNJEGA VEKA DO UKINITVE MESTNIH IN TRŠKIH SAMOUPRAV

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## POVZETEK

*Prispevek se ukvarja s posebnimi oblikami lokalne samouprave v mestih in zlasti trgih na Slovenskem od konca srednjega veka do odprave mestnih in trških samouprav v prvi polovici 19. stoletja. Gre za primere, kjer je bila stopnja samouprave nižja od običajne in kjer je šlo obenem tudi za njen specifičen nastanek. Med mesti sta bili takšni samo dve, edini, ki sta nastali šele v zgodnjem novem veku, pri trgih pa je mogoče slediti zelo različnim genezam omejene lokalne samouprave, neodvisno od časa nastanka trga oziroma priznanja trškega naziva. Čeprav so pri nekaterih trgih ugotovljene enake ali podobne poteze, je vendar vsak primer zgodba zase.*

*Ugotovitve prispevka lahko strnemo v sklepno misel, da so bile lokalne samouprave trgov na Slovenskem veliko bolj raznolike, kot bi sklepali ob površnem prebiranju virov. Enaka poimenovanja, kot npr. tržan, sodnik idr., so lahko močno zavajajoča, saj so imela od kraja do kraja različno vsebino.*

*Poleg glavnega namena prispevka – opozoriti na pisano sliko na videz precej enovitih lokalnih samouprav – je njegov drugi namen omogočiti primerjavo z evropskimi prostori, ki so poznali podobne fenomene in probleme.*

**Ključne besede:** mesta, trgi, slovensko ozemlje, posebne oblike samouprave

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## KAZALO K SLIKAM NA OVITKU

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(Borean, 2010, 325).

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**Borean, L. (2010):** Collezionisti e opere d'arte tra Venezia, Istria e Dalmazia nel Settecento. *Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia*, 20, 2, 323–330.

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(Borean, 2010a) e (Borean, 2010b).

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(Borean, 2010a, 37; Verginella, 2008, 37).

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(ASMI-SLV, 273, 7r).

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ACS-CPC, 3285, Milanovich Natale. Richiesta della Prefettura di Trieste spedita al Ministero degli Interni del 15 giugno 1940.

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(Il Corriere della Sera, 18. 5. 2009, 26)

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Il Corriere della Sera, 18. 5. 2009: Da Mestre all'Archivio segreto del Vaticano, 26.

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Ad es.:

**Il Corriere della Sera.** Milano, RCS Editoriale Quotidiani, 1876–.

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**Darovec, D., Kamin Kajfež, V. & M. Vovk (2010):** Tra i monumenti di Isola : guida storico-artistica del patrimonio artistico di Isola. Koper, Edizioni Annales.

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**Cergna, S. (2013):** Fluidità di discorso e fluidità di potere: casi d'internamento nell'ospedale psichiatrico di Pola d'Istria tra il 1938 e il 1950. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 23, 2, 475-486.

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**Žigante, A. (2008):** Alojz Žigante, r. 1930, parroco a Visinada. Testimonianza orale. Appunti dattiloscritti dell'intervista presso l'archivio personale dell'autore.

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**Young, M. A. (2008):** The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). (15. 9. 2008). [Http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf](http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf)

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2. The articles submitted can be written in the Slovene, Italian, Croatian or English language. The authors should ensure that their contributions meet acceptable standards of language, while the editorial board has the right to have them language edited.

3. The articles should be no longer than 8,000 words. They can be submitted via e-mail (Annaleszdjp@gmail.com) or regular mail, with the electronic data carrier (CD) sent to the address of the editorial board. Submission of the article implies that it reports original unpublished work and that it will not be published elsewhere.

4. The front page should include the title and subtitle of the article, the author's name and surname, academic titles, affiliation (institutional name and address) or home address, including post code, and e-mail address. Except initials and acronyms type in lowercase.

5. The article should contain the **summary** and the **abstract**, with the former (c. 200 words) being longer than the latter (max. 100 words).

The *abstract* contains a brief description of the aim of the article, methods of work and results. It should contain no comments and recommendations.

The *summary* contains the description of the aim of the article and methods of work and a brief analysis or interpretation of results. It can contain only the information that appears in the text as well.

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(Blaće, 2014, 240).

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**Blaće, A. (2014):** Eastern Adriatic Forts in Vincenzo Maria Coronelli's Isolario Mari, Golfi, Isole, Spiaggie, Porti, Città ... *Annales*, Series Historia et Sociologia, 24, 2, 239-252.

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(Blaće, 2014a) and (Blaće, 2014b).

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(Blaće, 2014, 241; Verginella, 2008, 37).

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(ASMI-SLV, 273, 7r).

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TNA-HS 4, 31, Note on Interview between Colonel Fišera and Captain Wilkinson on December 16th 1939.

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E.g.:

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Author (year of publication): Title. Place, Publisher.

E.g.:

**Darovec, D., Kamin Kajfež, V. & M. Vovk (2010):** Among the monuments of Izola : art history guide to the cultural heritage of Izola. Koper, Annales Press.

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(Darovec et al., 2010)

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- Description of an article from a **serial publication**:

Author (year of publication): Title of article. Title of serial publication, yearbook, number, pages from-to. E.g.:

**Faričić, J. & L. Mirošević (2014):** Artificial Peninsulas and Pseudo-Islands of Croatia. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 24, 2, 113-128.

- Description of an **oral source**:

Informant (year of transmission): Name and surname of informant, year of birth, role, function or position. Manner of transmission. Form and place of data storage. E.g.:

**Žigante, A. (2008):** Alojz Žigante, born 1930, priest in Vižinada. Oral history. Audio recording held by the author.

- Description of an **internet source**:

If possible, the internet source should be cited in the same manner as an article. What you should add is the website address and date of last access (with the latter placed within the parenthesis):

**Young, M. A. (2008):** The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). [Http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf](http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf) (15. 9. 2008).

If the author is unknown, you should cite the organization that set up the website, year of publication, title and subtitle of text, website address and date of last access (with the latter placed within the parenthesis).

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